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Karpov Assesses Arms Limitation, Reduction

LD1707183988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1300 GMT 16 Jul 88

[The "International program" presented by Melor Sturua, international affairs journalist, identified by screen caption, with Viktor Pavlovich Karpov, head of the Arms Limitation Administration of the USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry]

[Text] [Sturua] Hello, dear television viewers. The topic of our conversation today is the problem of reducing strategic offensive weapons. I don't think there's any point in expanding the theme of how significant solving this problem is. With me in the studio is Viktor Pavlovich Karpov, the head of the Arms Limitation and Disarmament Administration of the USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry and thus one of the most competent people in this sphere. It is natural that we shall be talking about those problems of greatest interest to us as television viewers, Soviet citizens, and residents on earth.

At the end of May and the beginning of June, the fourth summit meeting between the state leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States of America took place in Moscow. From my point of view there were two emotional points at that meeting: The first was the exchange of ratification documents which open the way to an agreement, or rather a treaty, to eliminate intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. The second emotional point was the recognition by President Reagan that the Soviet Union is no longer the evil empire. It stands to reason that it is hard to overestimate the significance of these two points, but, nonetheless, at the Moscow summit work was under way on a potentially still more important problem, that of a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive weapons. In the joint statement resulting from the Moscow meeting, the following is said on this: The leaders of both states noted that a joint draft text of a treaty to reduce and limit strategic offensive weapons has been worked out.

Viktor Pavlovich, to start with, explain this part of the joint statement. On the one hand it sounds very optimistic and on the other hand we know that there was no decisive, as the English say, breakthrough, at that summit meeting.

[Karpov] True, there was no breakthrough that would provide an opportunity of signing a treaty already. A whole series of problems remained unsolved but there is the draft, the joint draft treaty, a fairly voluminous one—a volume of almost 200 pages—which consists not only of the agreed text but also of a text that demonstrates the sides' positions; that is, what coincides is expressed as already agreed and what does not coincide, reflects the positions of each side. There are four such documents on strategic offensive weapons. These are the draft treaty itself, a draft of two protocols: one on the elimination or conversion of the strategic weapons subject to reduction and a second protocol on procedures for inspection and the implementation of verification functions and a memorandum on underlying data. This group of documents is mentioned here in the statement. There are two more documents that express an integral and inalienable component of the overall problem of strategic offensive weapons limitations. These are the draft agreement on observance of the ABM Treaty and a protocol to this. It is this entire group of documents that is noted here.

[Sturua] Incidentally, why are these latter put forward separately? Even in the joint statement it is said that an ABM agreement will be seperate from the treaty on strategic offensive weapons itself.

[Karpov] This is a long story and one which has its origin in previous debates in both Geneva in 1985 and Reykjavik in 1986. Initially, our proposals proceeded from the issue being dealt with as a whole: Both observance of the ABM Treaty and 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive weapons. However, because of the peculiarity of the U.S. position and President Reagan's love of the Strategic Defense Initiative program, the U.S. side was constantly putting to us a proposal to have, as it were, two documents: One on observance of the ABM Treaty, separately, and the treaty on 50-percent cuts. Ultimately, what matters is content rather than form and so we did deem it possible to accede to such a division, while maintaining, however, the internal logic of the combination of these components of the overall problem. It is not possible to cut strategic weapons without observing the ABM Treaty, and this internal correction is recorded in the document.

[Sturua] I see. What then, in which spheres were advances achieved at the summit? I can tell you sincerely that we journalists are not very keen on the word advances [podvizhki] in the literary sense, but since advances have great significance for diplomacy, I will use that word as well [laughter].

[Karpov] However, in a word, perhaps it does not express very precisely what really does happen when this word is used to describe movement at talks, but the point lies in the fact that during the summit it was possible to advance in agreeing two very serious sections which will be part of the draft treaty itself. To be precise, the first is the issue of mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles [ICBM's]. For a long time, this problem was a stumbling block at the talks. The Soviet Union does have such missiles, the United States does not. Hence, the divergence of views. The United States proposed banning these missiles and we proposed permitting these missiles, but with the introduction of strict limitations and verification of their siting and use.

Why are we insisting on this? Because mobile ICBM's are the guarantee and surety of the survivability of counter-strike weapons. The United States acknowledges this fact and even the Scowcroft presidential commission, under that famous strategic arms specialist, ackowledged 2 years ago that mobility is a method of ensuring survivability and of strengthening strategic stability. We understood this a long time ago, which is why we are making such missiles. The United States has now gone so far as to acknowledge the legitimacy, as it were, of mobile ICBM's, but the question has arisen of how to monitor [kontrolirovat] them, since strict monitoring will be required to prevent either of the sides increasing the established limits as reductions proceed. It was here that a fairly serious start toward a future treaty was made at the Moscow summit.

In theory, an accord was reached whereby mobile ICBM's will be limited to specific regions. These regions will be known to the other side, and the other side will be provided with information as to how many mobile ICBM's are deployed in each of the regions and there will be strict limitations on moving these ICBM's out of the limited regions. In this way, it will not be possible to deceive the other side by manipulating and moving these ICBM's from one area to another. These provisions were agreed upon. They made up a fairly bulky document that the delegations in Geneva, which began talks again on the 12th after the Moscow meeting, are to embody in the concrete formulae of the treaty.

The second section relates to air-launched cruise missiles. We have long had disagreements with the United States here as to how to count cruise missiles and which ones to count—all of them together or just certain specific categories. Long ago, as a result of SALT I and II, it was established that air-launched cruise missiles with a range of 600 km were to be regarded as strategic. Anything with a range of less than 600 km is not regarded as strategic, and anything that travels further than 600 is seen as a strategic weapon and taken into the count. The United States has now proposed setting, in contrast to the earlier established range, a range of 1,500 km. This will considerably increase the number of non-monitored [nekontroliruyemykh] weapons. Previously, all cruise weapons in place, meaning that are sited on bombers, with a range of more than 600 km, which were taken into account make for 6,000 nuclear warheads, the established ceiling that should be taken into account at the moment. The United States would like to take a considerable proportion of these out of the framework of the talks and to have more than 6,000. Thus far we have no agreement on this, but for the moment we have put it on one side.

[Sturua] Viktor Pavlovich, all you are now saying seems to call for some kind of exchange of strategic data and this is, incidentally, included in the joint statement.

[Karpov] Definitely, because it is necessary to know, as was the case, for example, in the INF Treaty, and to know specifically how many, which and what type of weapon each side has. Such an exchange has begun.

[Sturua] Now about where we have made no headway following the Moscow meeting: Where do the positions of the Soviet Union and the United States obviously diverge?

[Karpov] If we're talking....

[Sturua, interrupting] Yes, I want, in this instance, to put the SDI issue, which we will discuss in more detail later, outside the framework.

[Karpov] Okay. If we have in mind only strategic offensive weapons, then the main issue is that of sea-based cruise missiles. This issue has been a stumbling block for a long time and thus far no mutually acceptable solution has been found. Right at the beginning of the talks in March 1985, we raised the issue of making all types of strategic offensive weapons the susbject of an accord so that it would not be possible to proceed according to a solution in which, for example, ground-based ICBM's, submarine-based ballistic missiles, heavy bomber weapons are reduced, while at sea cruise missiles could be deployed absolutely anywhere—on board ships or submarines. An obvious lack of proportion emerges, an imbalance.

[Sturua] A certain circumvention.

[Karpov] It turns out that you can deploy cruise missiles of any range in any numbers, and thus in essence nullify the significance of the reductions that will be undertaken in other spheres. That is why without limitations on long-range sea-based cruise missiles, we cannot see the possibility of a real solution really signifying a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons.

[Sturua] It would be the Achilles' heel of the whole agreement! And now let's go back to the Strategic Defense Initiative, SDI, the so-called "Star Wars" program. The program has become a kind of Carthage which must one way or another be destroyed in order that a treaty on the 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons may become a reality. Certain readers [as heard] are bewildered. They believe—and the main thing is that many Americans believe thus—that SDI is effectively unrealizable. Financially speaking, it is pretty well unattainable. But even if it proves possible to buy and create the SDI, it will prove to be untenable strategically. That is, we can find a cheaper and fully effective response to it.

[Karpov] This, you know, is how I'd put it: We have probably created too large a propaganda image of the evil of this SDI. And we have no doubt fallen somewhat under the spell of the danger.

[Sturua] A sort of empire of evil in space!

[Karpov] Something like that, yes, something like that. But then, when we started to understand more clearly what can be done and how, on the basis of what the

Americans have already published, both our experts and the U.S. experts started to reach the conclusion that things aren't all that simple. For a start, to send into space the systems that would have to be sited there under the full SDI program, thousands of carrier-rockets would be needed to carry cargoes of not just several tonnes, but weighing dozens and even hundreds of tonnes. The United States does not at the moment have such carrier-rockets, and the Challenger disaster, as you well know, has set back the U.S. space program by a long period of time. The development of carrier-rockets of this sort will require enormous resources and a very lengthy period of time. There are also a great many other factors which are not for the moment being resolved, and cannot be resolved.

So why, in spite of this, are we so resolutely opposed to allow the United States to carry out work that goes outside the ABM Treaty? Here is the reason. The ABM Treaty was conceived as the cornerstone of the whole process of the reduction of strategic offensive weapons. The interdependence between strategic defense and strategic offensive weapons is organically inherent in these two components of the strategic potential. If a strategic defense is being created, whether it be on earth or in space, or by some other means—it inevitably entails the development of more sophisticated systems of strategic attack. This is because the balance has to be maintained. The potential for a possible retaliatory strike must be maintained as far as we are concerned: We must maintain a potential which would not afford the United States the possibility of effecting a first strike against us and covering itself by some sort of shield to neutralize a retaliatory strike. This action and counteraction, the struggle between shield and sword, which has been a feature of the military art from time immemorial, is present here too. So the ABM Treaty was conceived at the end of the 1960's—and realized in 1972—as a method of preventing the competition between shield and sword, thus ensuring a situation of strategic stability and predictability in relations between the USSR and United States and allowing a switch to the limitation, first, and then the reduction of strategic offensive weapons. This principle must be observed. If we breach it, if we destroy this connection, we shall not be guaranteed at any given moment that reductions in strategic offensive weapons will lead to a strengthening of strategic stability, rather than shattering this stability. In this sense, it is not so much opposition to the SDI program that is important, as compliance with the ABM Treaty. That is what we are now specifically advocating—full, undeviating, and as far as possible, open-ended compliance with the ABM Treaty. But here the United States is doing everything it can to resist this. It is setting itself the task—at least now, in our talks with them—of shattering the ABM Treaty, of trying to give it a wider interpretation that would enable the United States not only to conduct research work in the laboratory, but also to take certain tests into space—tests which in terms of the spirit and the letter of the treaty would mean going beyond the limitations that it sets.

We should like this not to happen. That is why we are proposing the following to the United States. Okay, if you are afraid of perpetuating the treaty for many years to come, let's at least agree to a 10-year period. Let us pledge not to go beyond the framework of the treaty in all work associated with antimissile defense. Then a state of strategic stability would be ensured. We think that the simple fact of a 50-percent reduction in the USSR's and U.S.' strategic armaments would fundamentally change the general atmosphere and people's general frame of mind, it would reshape their viewpoint regarding strategic weapons themselves and their necessity for ensuring their defense. I think that such a breakthrough in the reduction of strategic armaments will enable us to go further along this road. And then the question of SDI, the question of wide-scale strategic defensive systems, it seems to me, will look quite different.

[Sturua] Beyond the Atlantic, another objection is advanced against concluding a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons. They say that you cannot opt for this treaty until we have drawn up the strategy and structure of our armed forces, otherwise, the theory goes, we may find ourselves in a vulnerable position.

[Karpov] The structure of the strategic forces that will remain after they are reduced by 50 percent must, of course, be in strict accordance with the task that they will continue to face—maintaining the possibility of a retaliatory strike. This task will remain even when they are reduced by half. That is why their survivability and effectiveness in a retaliatory strike must be ensured. This task will of course require a more optimum correlation to be defined between land-based forces, submarine forces, naval ballistic missiles, and strategic aircraft.

[Sturua] That is clear, but is there not some element of sabotage here?

[Karpov] I think that when artificial questions are raised, it always occurs when someone does not want something to happen. In this case, an issue which really exists becomes hypertrophied and is given some kind of absolute significance, instead of the subsidiary significance that it really has as part of the overall problem of the reduction of strategic offensive weapons.

[Sturua] Here is another question. As you follow developments in Washington, you cannot fail to note a certain disagreement, a certain dissonance on the prospects for a treaty on strategic offensive weapons. I have here a statement by Colin Powell, the U.S. President's assistant for National Security Affairs. He declared that the President "has not given us any instructions to bring the treaty to completion." His boss has been saying something a little different. What can you say about this dissonance, this polyphony which is not very intelligible to us, if I can put it that way?

[Karpov] I could add to the polyphony the statements of other representatives of the administration—Kampelman and others—who have also been expressing doubts as to the possibility of an accord. I think that in theory an accord is still possible under this administration, but it is only possible if we do not waste time stirring ourselves into action. The talks in Geneva resumed on 12 July.

[Sturua] On nuclear and space weapons.

[Karpov] Yes, nuclear and space armaments. If from the very start they assume a good pace, if time is not wasted on fruitless discussions, if they immediately take the bull by the horns, as the saying goes, if they take the documents and drafts and sweep out all the garbage they still contain, if they lay bare the matters that are still not agreed on, and in an efficient and businesslike way pose the question of how to resolve them, naturally through a search for solutions that satisfy both sides, if this happens, we could have an agreement this year. We could have one on the whole package I was talking about. If time is wasted on various kinds of procedural discusions and long-winded talks which do not lead to real headway in drafting the texts, the pace will of course be slowed. Our delegation has all necessary authority to conduct the work in a businesslike way, with the target of drawing up an agreement this year.

[Sturua] From what you say, Viktor Pavlovich, it follows of course that there are enormous technical difficulties facing the parties negotiating the agreement. But we know that technical difficulties are surmountable if the political will exists, and this was shown by the preceding summit meetings. Here I should like to lead you into an area that interviewees do not like very much—the area of predictions. I shall confine myself to the principle of reasonable sufficiency, if I can put it that way.

[Karpov] In making predictions.

[Sturua] In making predictions, yes. What is your view—is the conclusion of a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons possible under the present administration in Washington, and, if not, in what foreseeable future timescale do you see the treaty being achieved in the light of the events taking place in Moscow, Washington and Geneva?

[Karpov] This depends above all, no doubt, on how the political battle in the United States goes. As I have already said, we, for our part, are prepared to conclude a treaty this year. I don't propose to predict the course of the political battle. I am not an expert on U.S. domestic political matters. I'm only an observer here, I'm only registering trends, so to speak. But I can imagine that, however things turn out, continuity with regard to these problems will remain. The treaty on medium and shorter range missiles, which has already been concluded, is the guarantee of that. The treaty has cut a substantial opening in this wall—an opening we had to cut. And we are now reaching an understanding of the fact that neither the United States nor the Soviet Union can live in the old way. In their bilateral relations, the task of reducing their nuclear potentials is becoming increasingly vital, and it stems from the tendencies whose foundations have been established under this administration. Much has been done, and the continuity is ensured by the fact that both Vice President Bush, the Republican Party's presidential candidate, who took a direct part in the formulation of decisions on medium range missiles and the position on a 50-percent reduction, will be continuing this line if he is elected, and Dukakis, as the Democratic candidate....

[Sturua, interrupting] That is, there won't be the traditional hiatus that has always occurred with a change of guard at the White House.

[Karpov] Yes. And I think, at any rate, that next year—if not this year of 1988, then 1989—could well become the year when it will prove possible to conclude an agreement on a 50-percent reduction.

[Sturua] Let us hope that, like Oracle of Delphi, you....

[Karpov, interrupting] Ha, ha! You probably shouldn't compare me with the Oracle of Delphi.

[Sturua] Yes, it was difficult to grasp what the Oracle of Delphi was saying. The Oracle's predictions were very evasive. You, on the other hand, are more optimistic!

[Karpov] I am making assumptions based on our assessment of trends.

[Sturua] The trend is positive. Thank you very much, Viktor Pavlovich, for your interesting talk, for your replies. Thank you very much for your attention. Until we meet again.

U.S. Scientists Leave for Semipalatinsk

LD1707083488 Moscow TASS in English 0826 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] San Francisco July 17 TASS—TASS correspondent Andrey Sidorin reports:

A C-5 military transportation plane with a group of American scientists and Corrtex equipment to determine the yield of nuclear detonations has left the Indian Springs Air Force Base, Nevada, taking course towards the Soviet Union. In two days' time, American officials said, the plane will arrive at the area of Semipalatinsk where a regular joint Soviet-American experiment is to be held in September this year.

The Corrtex equipment which American scientists have been using for more than ten years to determine the yield of nuclear expolsions will be located at a certain distance from the epicentre of the planned underground explosion at the Soviet test site. By means of the instruments the U.S. experts will determine its parameters and compare them with control data.

A similar experiment will be conducted a month earlier, in mid-August, in Nevada desert where a group of Soviet specialists has already arrived. In both cases the yield of the expolsions will not exceed 150 kilotons.

The experiments, the importance of which was emphasized at the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Moscow, are to promote intergovernmental talks between the Soviet Union and the United States in Geneva on the nuclear test ban issue. On the strength of the results of seismic observations, scientists must prove that by means of the existing equipment it is possible to reliably monitor underground nuclear tests.

The UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL (UPI) news agency points out that the forthcoming joint experiments are expected to promote ratification of the 1974 Soviet-U.S. Threshold Test Ban Treaty and the 1976 Peaceful Nuclear Explosive Treaty.

This hope is given by preliminary data obtained in Kazakhstan last year and in Nevada in spring this year. They confirmed the original estimates made by the specialists of the two countries and showed that it does not seem possible already now to conceal an underground nuclear expolsion of even the smallest yield.

U.S. Specialists Inspect Works at Sverdlovsk

LD1707114688 Moscow TASS in Russian 0958 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Sverdlovsk, 17 Jul (TASS)—A group of U.S. specialists today completed their first inspection to verify INF observance at the Sverdlovsk experimental works of the "M.I. Kalinin Engineering Works" production association.

Observing the conditions of the treaty, this enterprise in the Urals has ceased the production of launchers for ground-based cruise missiles (RK-55). The special technological and testing machinery has been dismantled and destroyed.

"This is the first Soviet industrial enterprise we have verified; our previous trips were to missiles bases, a TASS correspondent was told by U.S. Armed Forces Lieutenant Colonel Paul Nelson, the leader of the group of inspectors. Under the treaty, I do not have the right to comment on the results of the inspection, but I am satisfied with the cooperation with the Soviet side. All those we worked with are good professionals. I am glad that I have been given the opportunity to establish such contacts. It would be a good thing for such cooperation to continue in the future."

INF Inspector Views Visit to U.S. Facilities

PM1507145988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5

[A. Itskov interview with Colonel V.S. Lebedev, leader of group of Soviet INF inspectors which visited the United States, under the rubric "We Report the Details": "Inspections Have Begun"; date and place of interview not given—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles signed between the USSR and the United States began to be implemented 1 July 1988. This began with mutual trips of Soviet and U.S. inspection groups.

Colonel V.S. Lebedev, leader of the group of Soviet inspectors, told journalists about his trip to the United States.

"By the second week of mutual inspections we had already inspected the operational-tactical missile bases, plants manufacturing launchers, storage dumps, and other facilities that were once considered strictly secret," V.S. Lebedev said.

[Itskov] What is the monitoring system like?

"It is the same for the Soviet and U.S. sides," V.S. Lebedev replied. "On arriving at the point of entry and after a short rest, we announced the inspection sites and the host side had to take us to the facilities within 10 hours. The facilities that our group inspected were as follows: the Army arsenal at Pueblo (Colorado); the USAF base at Fort Washakie and Davis-Monthan (Arizona); Military Plant No 19 at San Diego (California); and the Dugway testing ground (Utah).

"The Americans took Soviet inspectors to the monitoring sites at the appointed time, in a strictly businesslike fashion, in a gentlemanly fashion, showing courtesy and obligingness. We had 24 hours at our disposal to carry out the inspection.

"'You can familiarize yourselves in detail with the facility, go where you want, ask any questions, and conduct technical inspections,' the U.S. representatives told us. 'If you don't have enough time, then the inspection can be extended by another 8 hours by prior agreement, plus 4 hours for compiling and signing the joint report on the inspection.'

"While fulfilling our mission on U.S. territory," Colonel V.S. Lebedev stated, "the Soviet inspectors were guided strictly by the provisions of the treaty. We hope that the incipient exchange of inspection groups will be a new form of Soviet-U.S. cooperation and will promote peace and international security.

"The Americans," V.S. Lebedev continued, "allotted us two comfortable two-story blocks, not forgetting, however, to put orange warning cones, which hinted unambiguously that further access was forbidden. The Americans organized safe care and protection for us. Of course, they also thought about our leisure, although, to be honest, we had virtually no time for leisure.

"The work of U.S. and Soviet inspectors," V.S. Lebedev said, "has begun at a good pace and for the first 2 months will be carried out particularly intensively. Soviet inspectors will monitor approximately 30 facilities on U.S. territory and West European countries' territory. In the future each side will devote the main attention to verification of the destruction of missiles and launchers and will carry out other strictly agreed upon kinds of inspection, for the process of eliminating intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles must be completed within a 3-year period."

Inspectors Check U.S. Missile Facilities

LD1707113788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0300 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] A group of Soviet inspectors have started spot checks at missile-producing enterprises and missile bases in a number eastern and southeastern states of the United States. This is envisaged in the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

NATO Reaction to Soviet Proposals Viewed

LD1507190188 Moscow TASS in English 1808 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 15 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

The NATO leadership has not yet evolved any clear-cut concept on security in Europe that it could offer without coming to be seen in the world as an opponent of balanced disarmament taking into account the interests of all sides.

This has been demonstrated strikingly by the alliance's reaction to Soviet initiatives for scaling down military confrontation in Europe.

These proposals, formulated by Mikhail Gorbachev in Warsaw, are based on the principle of causing no harm to the security of any side.

The Warsaw Treaty suggests exchanging even before the commencement of talks initial data on the number of troops and armaments of the two blocs, carefully verifying this information through such means as on-site inspections, evening out imbalances and asymmetries, that is reducing armed forces and weaponry to the lower levels, and then slashing troop strength from the achieved equal level on each side by 500,000 men.

The impression is that balanced cuts in the military power of the two alliances down to equal levels do not suit NATO leaders since their goal is to break out of the fetters of parity and gain a military advantage.

In response to the Soviet initiatives they have demanded "asymmetrical cuts", meaning a unilateral reduction of troops and conventional armaments by the Warsaw Treaty.

The "Atlanticists" are pretending that all the existing imbalances in Europe are due to Soviet military superiority.

NATO, in the meantime, has obvious advantages over the Warsaw Treaty in a number of aspects of military strength in Europe. This includes tactical aircraft, combat helicopters, anti-tank systems and aircraft carriers cruising off European shores.

The North Atlantic bloc has an advantage in the aggregate military power of all the services on the southern flank in Europe.

In the NATO headquarters they hold an extremely negative view of the Soviet proposal for swapping data about the military power of the two alliances since such exchanges with subsequent on-site inspections will dispel the myth of an "overwhelming military superiority" of socialist nations.

U.S. State Department spokesman Charles Redman said they were uncertain whether the USSR was really going to mend the imbalance in conventional arms.

Why doesn't the United States and NATO as a whole test the sincerity of the Warsaw treaty's intentions by exchanging data about the military power of the two alliances and verifying it through on-site inspections as a starter?

NATO To Study Warsaw Pact Arms Proposals

LD1707194088 Moscow TASS in English 1916 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Brussels July 17 TASS—Atlantic alliance will study most attentively the proposals of the Warsaw Treaty member countries in the area of conventional arms reduction. An official representative of the NATO International Secretariat said this here today. He said that it is only after a thorough analysis of the documents worked out during the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states held in the Polish capital that NATO will be able to state its views on the essence of the proposals contained in the documents.

The official spokesman also said that NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner and other political leaders of the alliance had expressed more than once their support for the idea of starting talks on conventional arms reductions from the Atlantic to the Urals as early as this year.

Pact Proposals for Disarmament Observed

LD1707193788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] You know, comrades, that the documents of the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty states held in Warsaw were published today. Among the priority tasks in the field of disarmament, the Warsaw Treaty member states single out reaching a treaty on a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive arms, a total, comprehensive ban on nuclear weapons testing, the conclusion of a convention completely banning chemical arms, and cutting armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe. A spearate declaration was made on that question. Over to commentator Vladimir Pasko:

[Pasko] The joint program for cutting armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals was proposed by the Political Consultative Committee as far back as 1986. A year later, at the session in Berlin, the program was supplemented and has now been made still more specific. It consists of a proposal to start the relevant talks and list of the topics which could be discussed in the first stage.

But why is so much significance attached by the allied states to cutting conventional forces whereas we stress the problem of cutting and eliminating nuclear arms? The fact is that the problem of eliminating nuclear arms is closely connected with cutting conventional ones. For example, let us recall that our development of intercontinental strategic missiles—which the United States is aiming so hard to cut at the moment—was in reaction to the U.S. forward-based weapons, including conventional ones. There is a second reason forcing us to grapple in earnest with this problem—in European conditions, very little distinguishes conventional weapons from nuclear ones. No one can guarantee that in case of a conflict, strikes will avoid nuclear power stations or chemical enterprises, and the consequences of that are obvious.

We have long been warning about the danger of conventional arms. The West seems to agree with this in words but in fact nothing changes. The arsenals are growing. Plans are being adopted to modernize conventional weapons. The concept of deterrence with regard to the East is being confirmed without change—that is to say, adherence to a policy of force. Work on a mandate for talks on cutting conventional forces and weapons is marking time. And all this is accompanied by propaganda assertions that the Warsaw Treaty has more such forces; and therefore, they say we must cut them.

We propose getting out of the impasse in the following way: to exchange official data on the presence of forces, with verification [proverka] of this data, and on the basis of this data to eliminate the imbalances and asymmetry; then to cut the troops by 500,000 on each side; and in the third stage to continue cutting until the military formations of the two alliances have an exclusively defensive nature. As for the topics of the first stage of the talks, they are set out in the recent declaration and deal with three questions: reaching lower, equal levels; preventing sudden attacks; and exchanging information and verification. But it is essential to begin the talks themselves. We propose embarking on them immediately, this very year.

We must suppose that the West is already studying the documents of the Warsaw session of the Political Consultative Committee. Long ago they began guessing at their contents. Western leaders will be waiting with interest for an answer to the question as to whether the documents published after the session will speak in concrete terms about conventional arms control, Britain's THE INDEPENDENT wrote, for example. As we see, they do speak about this, clearly, logically, and in detail too. Now it's over to the other side; and we are waiting for their response with just the same impatience.

Warsaw Pact Political Committee Session Concludes

Jaruzelski, Ceausescu Toast

PM1607135188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jul 88 Second Edition pp 1-4

[TASS report on speeches by PZPR Central Committee First Secretary Jaruzelski and RCP General Secretary Ceausescu at a 15 July dinner in Warsaw attended by participants in the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee meeting, under the headline "In an Atmosphere of Friendship and Cordiality"]

[Text] Warsaw 15 Jul—W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish Council of State, has given a dinner in honor of the participants in the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference.

Delegations attended from Bulgaria, headed by T. Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council; Hungary, headed by K. Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers; the GDR, headed by E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council; Poland, headed by W. Jaruzelski; Romania, headed by N. Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP and Romanian president; the USSR, headed by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; and the CSSR, headed by M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Party and state figures from Poland were also in the hall.

Those present were addressed by W. Jaruzelski. Welcoming the conference participants, he said: We are meeting at an important moment. The peace offensive of the Soviet Union and the increased activity of the entire socialist community are yielding concrete results. A first real step has been taken along the road to arms limitation. The course and results of the Soviet-U.S. summit meetings testify that realism is beginning to make its path in international life. Once again it has turned out that dialogue is extremely useful and that agreement is possible even on the most difficult issues.

We remain true to the ideals of a world free from violence and the arms race. We want to have good relations and mutually useful cooperation, based on the principles of equal rights, with all countries.

A historical chance has arisen to take further steps toward the realization of this vision. We regard the processes now taking place with hope, but at the same time we are aware that one cannot expect the stereotypes that have come about in the course of many years suddenly to disappear or the economic interests of groups that make fantastic profits from arms production to lose their importance.

The Washington treaty, the ebbing of the wave of confrontation in many West European countries, the climate of the recent extraordinary meeting of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament—all this allows one to say that a fresh historical opportunity is taking shape.

A key issue at the moment is to consolidate positive trends and furnish them with the character of irreversibility. Precisely this is the chief intention and fundamental idea of our meeting, of the serious discussion permeated with a sense of responsibility. By their very nature, processes of historical dimensions require much time and patience.

The positive changes continue to face numerous threats. All intermediate- and shorter-range missiles have not yet been scrapped, yet already there are plans to upset the balance again by means of the so-called compensatory conventional arms upgrading.

We must make our partners more keenly aware that this road leads nowhere. It will not consolidate the security of any country; on the contrary, it can delay and make more difficult a breakthrough in an area that is literally a matter of life and death for Europe and the world. Our states call from Warsaw today on all members of the international community to unite their efforts for the creation of trust and cooperation. Every country, whether large or small, independent of its social system and its particular features that have arisen historically, can and must adopt a position on this question, and must raise its voice and work genuinely in the interests of peace.

Guarantees of security and balance can be attained through lowering the level of military confrontation, progress in all the disarmament negotiations now under way, and the creation of new platforms of dialogue.

Socialist states give their full allied support to the Soviet Union's strivings to conclude an agreement on a radical reduction of strategic nuclear potentials of the two superpowers. We also regard as crucial the question of stopping the production of chemical weapons and liquidation of its stockpiles.

Europe can and must shake off the fetters of armaments. They confine the scope for economic and scientific-technological cooperation, hamper the development of the natural links between people and states, and make it more difficult to overcome differences of views and prejudices.

Lasers are a useful tool for the surgeon and land surveyor, but a dangerous weapon in the hands of detente opponents. Microelectronics instructs, heals, and relieves human life, but it can also create conditions for precision destruction. In the contemporary European home, neighbors should not keep a gun under the pillow. During the construction of this home we wish to see the whole potential of the Helsinki process more extensively used. After all, it was on our continent that 2,000 years ago the noncontroversial maxim "Pacta sun servanda"—Treaties are concluded to be adhere to—was formed.

We are striving sincerely for the consolidation and deepening of the process of detente, the creation of a sound foundation for confidence. We have powerfully affirmed this once again in the document adopted today. We are prepared to discuss honestly the viewpoints of all interested states. At the same time we consider it a fundamental condition for a dialogue among partners that it takes place on the basis of the unconditional recognition of the inviolability of the territorial-political post-war order in Europe, in agreement with the principle of equal security and respect for the interests of each and every country.

The states of our community have presented of late many valuable, original initiatives to the European forum. Their relevance and importance were affirmed today at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee.

A new, forward-looking thinking is the crucial basis for the pioneering conception of the common European home. The proposals of the Soviet Union, announced a few days ago by Mikhail Gorbachev from the platform of the Polish Sejm, reify how it is to be shaped in future. Coming from the capital of a country which was exposed through wars and invasions to such heavy trials and which is situated at the crossroads of main European thoroughfares, the appeal by our states has particular force.

Far-reaching changes are taking place in the countries of the socialist community. Their highest objective is the strengthening of socialism, the more complete utilization of the material and intellectual potential of our people.

The strategic signposts of our development are common, universally valid ideological principles. The fundamental common ground is internationalism, the unity of the objectives and efforts of the Marxist-Leninist parties, and the fundamental identity of the interests of our states and people.

The decisions we are making, however, are not taken according to a single, absolute pattern. They are rooted in different historically-arisen national conditions. The mutual study of experiences and their creative application become the daily practical form of relations which unite us. All this confirms the principles of the equality of our fraternal parties and the sovereignty of our states, and enriches these from day to day with new contents.

The far-reaching restructuring of the mechanisms of our economic cooperation is at present an extraordinarily important task. This was affirmed in the resolutions of the 44th CEMA Council session in Prague. We must make speedier progress toward the common market of the European socialist countries. The development of socialist integration means the strengthening of positions in the international division of labor of each one of our countries and of the socialist community as a whole.

Far-reaching changes are taking place in Poland. This process is not free from various difficult problems caused by internal and external factors. The recent 7th plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee has set the course toward the deepening and acceleration of the reforms, and above all the increase in their effectiveness. The resolutions of the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU were noted in our party with great attention and full support. This was confirmed convincingly by the official friendship visit of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, which ended yesterday.

It has given our fraternal relations a new content and a warmer temperature and has opened up broad prospects for the further rapprochement of our people, parties, and states. The PZPR, the working people, the Polish people consider this visit an historic event.

The alliance and the steadily closer cooperation with the Soviet Union, with the states of the socialist community are the crucial guarantee for a secure, peaceful life and the prosperous development of Poland.

The conviction that the course toward confrontation can but lead to a dead end is gradually strengthening in the world. Mankind, suffering the strains of mutual enmity and fear, would be in no position to confront the present challenges which are piling up, or to avert the dangers threatening civilization.

The course and results of our deliberation have once again confirmed the cohesion of our alliance in ideology, policy, and defense. The documents we are adopting affirm most emphatically the peace mission of our states. We hope that the new offer of the Warsaw Pact member-states will be accepted by our partners.

N. Ceausescu spoke on behalf of the delegations from the fraternal parties. Expressing gratitude to the PZPR Central Committee, the Polish Government, and Comrade W. Jaruzelski for their hospitality, he conveyed to the entire friendly Polish people warm greetings and best wishes for progress, prosperity, and important new achievements in socialist building.

At the conference, the speaker noted, we have held a broad exchange of views on questions of the greatest importance for the consolidation of the cooperation of our countries in the realization of the tasks for their socio-economic development in a climate of broad international cooperation, disarmament, security, and peace.

We have reached the common conclusion that the present international situation is still very contradictory, serious, and complicated. Although with the signing of the agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States ceratin steps have been taken in the direction of disarmament, it must be noted that the dangerous course of events still has not changed radically in the direction of detente, cooperation, and peace. The arms race is being continued, and new stockpiles of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction are being accumulated, which increases the danger of a new world war, which would inevitably be a devastating nuclear war.

Starting from this, we agreed that it is necessary to redouble our efforts to achieve disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament. In this connection our countries believe that the signing of a treaty on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons of the Soviet Union and the United States, a complete and comprehensive ban on nuclear weapon tests and renunciation of the so-called "Star Wars" and all activities for the militarization of space would be of special significance.

We also consider it necessary to begin, as soon as possible, negotiations on the complete removal of all shorter-range nuclear weapons from the continent of Europe and also concrete negotiations between the states of the two military alliances—with participation by all the countries of Europe—on the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms. We also reached agreement on other, particularly important measures for the consolidation of confidence and security on the continent and for the development of all-European cooperation.

With reference to the further deterioration of the world economy, which is affecting the developing countries in particular, our countries have stressed the need for an intensification of efforts directed at overcoming this situation, the elimination of underdevelopment, and the creation of a new world economic order based on relations of complete equality and justice.

Taking into account the particular complexity of these problems and the fact that they cannot be solved by only a few states, the equal participation of all countries, independent of their size or social order, is urgently needed to overcome these problems. In general, we have spoken emphatically in support of solving all contentious questions by means of negotiations, in support of the development of relations between states in accordance with the principles of complete equality, respect for national independence and sovereignty, nonintervention in each other's internal affairs, and mutual advantage.

Our starting point in the analysis of the contemporary international situation has been the necessity of new thinking and a new approach to the questions of peace and war, to all the extremely complex problems disturbing our epoch.

One can say that the decisions which have been made open up new perspectives for the consolidation of our cooperation both in the construction of the new order, the successful realization of the programs of socialist development, and also in the struggle for disarmament, security, and peace in Europe and in the whole world. The meeting has powerfully affirmed the will and resolution of our parties and people to do everything possible for the decisive transition to disarmament, first of all nuclear disarmament; and for mutual understanding and cooperation; for the unity of all forces in the struggle for the creation of a better and more just world without weapons and war, a world of peace and peaceful cooperation between nations.

In conclusion, N. Ceausescu expressed the conviction that the discussion and the agreements reached at the conference will fully match the demands and expectations of our peoples and the forces of progress and peace worldwide.

The dinner was held in an atmosphere of friendship and cordiality.

Gorbachev, Others Speak

LD1507171088 Moscow TASS in English 1701 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw July 15 TASS—The Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee began a meeting in the capital of the Polish People's Republic today.

The following delegation heads spoke at the meeting today: Mikhail Gorbachev—the Soviet Union, Erich Honecker—the German Democratic Republic, Karoly Grosz—Hungary, Todor Zhivkov—Bulgaria, Nicolae Ceausescu—Romania, Milos Jakes—Czechoslovakia, and Wojciech Jaruzelski—Poland.

The Political Consultative Committee at the meeting which is being held in an atmosphere of friendship and comradely business-like cooperation is considering topical European and world problems.

Among them are issues of reducing the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, deepening confidence and security in the continent, developing the all-European process, political and economic cooperation among the European nations, prospects of their interaction in handling urgent ecological problems and broadening humanitarian cooperation.

The participants are also discussing tasks of deepening foreign political relations within the Warsaw Treaty framework, further joint steps by its members to strengthen positive trends in world development, restructuring of international relations on the basis of new political thinking.

The Political Consultative Committee will continue its work tomorrow.

Foreign Ministers Meeting

LD1607102888 Moscow TASS in English 1021 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw July 16 Tass—A working meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Warsaw Treaty member states who participated in the session of the Political Consultative Committee (PCC) was held here.

The ministers discussed some matters concerning practical implementation of the accords reached at the PCC session here.

The meeting was held in an atmosphere of friendship and businesslike comradely mutual understanding.

Leaders Sign Document

LD1607095688 Moscow TASS in English 0952 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw July 16 TASS—The meeting of the Political Consultative Committee (PCC) of the Warsaw Treaty member states ended its work here on July 16. A statement by the Warsaw Treaty member states on talks on reductions in the armed forces and conventional arms in Europe was signed at the concluding session.

The document was signed by the following persons:

Todor Zhivkov for the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Karoly Grosz for the Hungarian People's Republic, Erich Honecker for the German Democratic Republic, Wojciech Jaruzelski for the Polish People's republic, Nicolae Ceausescu for the Socialist Republic of Romania, Mikhail Gorbachev for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and Milos Jakes for the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

A document entitled "The Consequences of the Arms Race for the Environment and Other Aspects of Ecological Security" and a communique of the PPC meeting were adopted as well.

The PCC meeting which was held in an atmosphere of friendship and comradely cooperation has shown the unity of views on the discussed problems of European and world politics.

Leaders Meet

LD1607100788 Moscow TASS in English 1000 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw July 16 TASS—At the close of the session of the Political Consultative Committee (PCC) of the Warsaw Treaty member states, there was a meeting of the leaders of the delegations: Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, president of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, president of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, president of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The meeting was held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Pact Document on Ecology

PM1607182588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jul 88 First Edition p 2

["Consequences of the Arms Race for the Environment and Other Aspects of Ecological Security" adopted at the 15-16 July Warsaw session of the Political Consultative Committee]

[Text] The Warsaw Treaty member countries state their profound concern over the steadily worsening state of the environment. Disruptions in the natural balance are attaining dimensions that may have unpredictable consequenses capable of undermining the material basis of mankind's social and economic development and jeopardising its very existence.

Deeply convinced that the arms race, above all the nuclear arms race, represents one of the most dangerous sources of the worsening of the environment, the Warsaw treaty member countries believe that the solution of ecological problems is closely connected with the consolidation of peace, international security and disarmament.

Preventing nuclear war, which would inevitably lead to an all-out ecological catastrophe, has been and remains the principal direction in the efforts to preserve the environment. Any armed conflicts inflict heavy damage to the environment. It is being steadily destroyed on a growing scale by the arms race which runs counter to the efforts to protect the environment and hinders the solution of the noble task of creating on earth a harmonious equilibrium of society, technology and nature.

The production, stockpiling and transportation of various types of weapons, construction of military facilities and holding of military exercises have a direct negative effect on the environment.

The Warsaw Treaty member countries draw special attention to the danger posed to the environment and to the very existence of life on earth by the accumulation of nucear weapons, which pose a threat of global devastation, either as a result of premeditated use, miscalculation or accident. The continuation of nuclear testing, the large-scale stockpiling of chemical weapons and their continued production, and the development of weaponry systems based on new principles may have unpredictable and detrimental ecological consequences. The spread of the arms race into outer space would undermine the possibilities of its peaceful rational use. The wasteful consumption for military purposes of nonrenewable resources rests as a heavy burden on the earth's environment. The attempts to influence it for military or other hostile purposes would do most serious harm to the environment.

Welcoming the positive trends that have become tangible of late in international relations, the Warsaw Treaty member countries believe that curbing the arms race and effective disarmament measures would help strengthen peace and security as a decisive condition for the development of international cooperation in the most diverse spheres, including in protecting and improving the quality of the environment. This would be facilitated by the implementation of their joint and individual initiatives in the field of disarmament, confidence-building, and security measures.

It is necessary to take advantage of the advancement which has begun in the field of disarmament for invigorating efforts related to environmental protection.

Steps in the field of disarmament should be accompanied by specific nature-conservation measures. Disarmament would release huge financial, natural and human resources for improving the ecological situation on a regional and global scale.

The worsening of the state of the environment as a result of man's peaceful activity gives rise to mounting alarm. Economic activity, carried out without regard for ecological factors, causes pollution of the world ocean and the atmosphere, trans-boundary transfer of pollutants, degradation of soil, desertification and deforestation, transformation of the climate, disappearance of whole biologocal species, accumulation of harmful substances in the biosphere and many other negative phenomena in nature destroying man's habitat.

The existing threat of nuclear catastrophe, frequent ecological disasters, and disruptions in the balance of nature confirm the growing ecological inter-dependence of all states around the world. Life itself persistently demands the pooling of efforts by the international community in the interests of the concerted effective solution of environmental problems.

The elaboration and consistent implementation of the concept of international ecological security on the basis of the broadest and open international cooperation offer a way out of the present situation. International ecological security, called upon to facilitate the steady and safe development of all states and the creation of favorable conditions for the life of every nation and every individual, presupposes a state of international relations that secures the preservation, rational use, reproduction and improvement in the quality of the environment.

With these aims in view, the Warsaw Treaty member countries come out in favor of the creative use and accumulation of all things positive accomplished by the international community in the field of environmental protection. They highly assess the activity of the United Nations, especially its specialised body, the U.N. environmental program, and the work of the International Commission for the Environment and Development, which suggested considering ecological problems not in isolation but in their interrelationship with problems of war and peace, disarmament and development, eradication of backwardness and poverty, ensuring of an adequate, healthy and safe life on earth.

Ensuring international ecological security demands the adoption of binding principles and standards of behavior of states and the definition of major directions in international cooperation in the ecological sphere. These principles, standards, and directions should be jointly elaborated on the basis of extensive and constructive international dialogue. A corresponding international legal document could be adopted in 1992 to mark the 20th anniversary of the U.N. conference on the environment. The Warsaw Treaty member states are prepared to start without delay work on drafting such a document. [Moscow TASS in English at 1438 GMT on 16 July, in its report on the Warsaw Pact document on ecology, renders the preceding sentence: " The Warsaw Treaty member states are prepared to start without delay work on drafting such a treaty."]

Being part of Europe, which feels especially keenly the consequences of environment-damaging activity, the Warsaw Treaty member states deem it vitally important to adopt immediate measures which would enable the continent to become a model in ecological cooperation. Concern for the ecological situation, for the health of people, for clean air and clean water would become a common cause of all European countries and hold a proper place in the all-European process.

This would meet as fully as possible the idea of the united Europe of peace and cooperation, an "all-European home." Within this context, the Warsaw Treaty member countries regard as highly topical the proposals aimed at protecting the environment in Europe and its individual regions. They favor the broadest exchange of information on ecological issues, mutual unrestricted access to advanced technologies preserving the environment, and establishment of an order of strict accountability of states for their nature-conservation activity and ecological incidents that have occurred or have been prevented on their territories. With a view to expanding and dynamically deepening ecological cooperation, they propose convening an all-European conference of ministers responsible for environmental protection and elaborating at it a program of concerted actions.

The Warsaw Treaty member countries declare their intention to actively facilitate the solution of urgent problems of preserving the environment, protecting it against wars and the consequences of the arms race. They appeal to all states and peoples of the world to pool their efforts to protect and improve the environment in the name of securing our present and future. Mankind, with an immense constructive and creative potential, is capable of halting the process of the worsening of the environment. International cooperation on a multilateral and bilateral basis in the conservation of nature, the source and keeper of life, constitutes a duty of all states before the living and succeeding generations.

'Statement' on Arms

PM1607171988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jul 88 First Edition pp 1, 2

["Warsaw Pact States' Statement on Talks on Armed Forces and Conventional Arms Reduction in Europe" adopted at the 15-16 July Warsaw session of the Political Consultative Committee]

[Text] The Warsaw Treaty member states believe that the interests of European and universal security urgently call for sizable cuts in armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe—from the Atlantic to the Urals. They are for talks on the issue to open without delay, as early as in 1988.

The allied states are convinced that the priority objective of these talks is securing a radical reduction in the military potentials of both alliances and such a situation in the continent as would leave the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries with forces and systems needed for defense but insufficient for a surprise attack and offensive operations. This would enhance military-political stability and security in Europe in conditions where the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is in effect and facilitate continued movement along the path of promoting disarmament, strengthening trust and lowering the threat of war.

The Warsaw Treaty member states proceed from the premise that cuts in armed forces and conventional armaments will be accompanied by a corresponding reduction in military spending.

Acting on the basis of their joint program for reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, which was put forward by them in Budapest in June 1986 and elaborated in Berlin in May 1987, the Warsaw Treaty member states are for the following matters to be resolved during the first phase of the relevant talks:

1. Achieving equal lowered levels.

The ultimate goal of the first phase of the talks should be achieving roughly equal (balanced) collective levels as regards armed forces strength [Moscow TASS in English at 1313 GMT on 16 July, in its report on the Warsaw Pact statement, renders the preceding phrase: "...as regards troop strength..."] and the amount of conventional weaponry for the states grouped in the two military-political alliances. These levels would be lower than those currently existing on either side.

The process of attaining such levels would be pursued in phases on pan-European and regional scales. First of all, it would be expedient to concentrate on the issues of mutually eliminating the imbalances and asymmetries in individual classes of conventional arms and in the armed forces of the two military-political alliances in Europe.

The imbalances and asymetries would be removed by withdrawing forces from the reduction area and subsequently disbanding them or by disbanding them on the spot, as well as through other possible measures. The arms and military equipment to be reduced would be eliminated at specially assigned sites or be turned over by agreement to be used for peaceful purposes. Provision could be made for storing part of the arms and equipment on a temporary basis. Such storage sites would be kept under continuous international verification.

The attainment of the final goal of the first phase would lay the groundwork for significant further mutual cuts in troops and armaments. At the second phase, the armed forces of each side would be slashed by approximately 25 percent (by some 500,000 men) with their organic arms. At the third phase, the reduction of the armed forces and conventional arms would be continued and the armed forces of both sides would be lent a strictly defensive nature.

The Warsaw Treaty member states consider it expedient that all the participants in the talks should not, from the moment the negotiations begin and until the agreements to be achieved at them become effective, take steps running counter to the objectives of the talks, in particular should not build up their armed forces and conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals.

With the agreements' entry into force, all the participants in the negotiations would pledge not to build up their armed forces and conventional armaments in the territories that could be left uncovered by the initial cuts.

2. Preventing a surprise attack

Measures to reduce and eliminate the risk of a surprise attack would be an integral part of the process of cutting back armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

With this aim, starting from the first phase, lowered-arms-level strips (zones) would be created along the line of contact between the two military-political alliances, from which the more dangerously destabilizing kinds of conventional arms would be removed or reduced. As a result, military potentials in these strips (zones) would be kept at a level ensuring only defensive capability but ruling out the possibility of a surprise attack.

The depth of the lowered-arms-level strips (zones) could be agreed upon the basis of geo-strategic factors, the combat [taktiko-tekhnicheskiy] characteristics of the principal types of arms, and other criteria.

These steps would be accompanied by agreed confidence-building measures which would limit military activity in the strips (zones), providing, correspondingly, for a stiffer regime the closer to the line of contact. They would cover, in particular, the scale and number of simultaneous exercises and the duration and frequency of exercises, as well as a ban on major exercises and restrictions on troop movements.

3. Data exchanges and verification

With the aim of determining the correlation of forces between the two military-political alliances and identifying imbalances and asymmetries in the armed forces and conventional armaments on pan-European and regional scales early in the talks or, if possible, even before their commencement, relevant initial data essential for conducting the negotiations would be mutually exchanged. Provision would also be made for the possibility of verifying this data with the start of the talks by means of on-site inspections.

An effective system for verifying compliance with the accords to be reached at the talks would be provided by using national technical means and international procedures, including on-site inspections without right of refusal. Entry-exit monitoring points would be set up both along the perimeter and inside the lowered-arms-level strips (zones) and in the reduction area (at railway stations and junctions, airports and ports).

Verifications arrangements would cover the process of reducing, eliminating (dismantling) and storing arms and of disbanding formations and units as well as troop activities and the limit on the number of armed forces [The Moscow TASS English version reads: "...on the number of troops..."] and armaments left following the cuts.

An international verification commission would be formed and vested with extensive powers (in terms of monitoring, inspections, dealing with contentious issues, etc.)

The Warsaw Treaty member states believe that a considerable reduction and subsequent elimination of tactical nuclear weapons, including warheads [boyezaryad] for dual-capable systems, would be an important measure towards reducing the risk of an outbreak of war and creating a more stable situation in Europe. [The Moscow TASS English version reads: "...tactical nuclear weapons, including munitions..."] They reaffirm their proposal for opening relevant talks in the very near future [The Moscow TASS English version reads: "...opening relevant talks soon..."] and conducting them to conclude a mutually acceptable agreement.

The Warsaw Treaty member states proceed from the premise that there is a close relationship between the process of reducing armed forces and conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals and the continued development and broadening of confidence- and security-building measures in Europe within the CSCE frameworks. They take the view that the second phase of the conference on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe should continue to examine the issues left unresolved at the conference's first phase, first of all those concerning the extension of confidence-building measures to cover the air forces and navies, and to hammer out new-generation confidence-building measures, including those of a restricting nature. All these measures would contribute to lowering the risk of a surprise attack and expanding glasnost, openness and predictability in the military field.

The Warsaw Treaty member states are also prepared to discuss other possible measures and proposals for strengthening stability in Europe at ever lower levels of armed forces and armaments, with the principels of equality and equal security being observed and the agreements reached being made effectively verifiable.

'Communique' of Session

PM1607200188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jul 88 First Edition pp 1, 2

["Communique of the Warsaw Pact Member States Political Consultative Committee Conference" held July 15-16 in Warsaw]

[Text] The Political Consultative Committee of the States that are parties to the Warsaw Pact on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance met in Warsaw on July 15 and 16, 1988.

The attendees included:

From the People's Republic of Bulgaria—Delegation leader Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and chairman of the State Council of Bulgaria, Georgi Atanasov, a member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, Dobri Dzhurov, a member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and People's Defense Minister of Bulgaria, Petur Mladenov, a member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and foreign minister of Bulgaria, and Dimitur Stanishev, a secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

From the Hungarian People's Republic—delegation leader Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Hungary, Matyas Szuros, a secretary of the HSP Central Committee, Peter Varkonyi, a member of the HSWP Central Committee and foreign minister of Hungary, and Ferenc Karpati, a member of the HSWP Central Committee and defense minister of Hungary.

From the German Democratic Republic—delegation leader Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG) and chairman of the State Council of the GDR, Willi Stoph, a member of the Politburo of the SUPG Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR, Hermann Axen, a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the SUPG Central Committee, Heinz Kessler, a member of the Politburo of the SUPG Central Committee and national defense minister of the GDR, Egon Krenz, a member of the Politburo, a secretary of the SUPG Central Committee, and a deputy chairman of the State Council of the GDR, Guenter Mittag, a member of the Politburo, a secretary of the SUPG Central Committee, and a deputy chairman of the State Council of the GDR, and Oskar Fischer, a member of the SUPG Central Committee and foreign minister of the GDR.

From the Polish People's Republic—delegation leader Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) and chairman of the State Council of Poland, Zbigniew Messner, a member of the Politburo of the PUWP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Poland, Josef Czyrek, a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, Florian Siwicki, a member of the Politburo of the PUWP Central Committee and a national defense minister of Poland, Boguslaw Kolodziejczak, a member of the Secretariat of the PUWP Central Committee and head of the Secretariat's office, and Tadeusz Olechowski, foreign minister of Poland.

From the Socialist Republic of Romania—delegation leader Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) and president of Romania, Constantin Dascalescu, a member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and prime minister of the Government of Romania, Ion Stoian, an alternate member of the Political Executive Committee and a secretary of the RCP Central Committee, Vasile Milea, an alternate member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and national defense minister of Romania, Ioan Totu, an alternate member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and foreign minister of Romania, and Ion Tesu, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Romania to Poland.

From the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—delegation leader Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), Andrey Gromyko, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Nikolay Ryzhkov, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Eduard Shevardnadze, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, Dmitriy Yazov, an alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR defense minister, and Vadim Medvedev, a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

From the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic—delegation leader Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPC), Gustav Husak, a member of the Presidium of the CPC Central Committee and president of Czechoslovakia, Lubomir Strougal, a member of the Presidium of the CPC Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Czechoslovakia, Vasil Bilak, a member of the Presidium and a secretary of the CPC Central Committee, Bohuslav Chnoupek, a member of the CPC Central Committee and foreign minister of Czechoslovakia, and Milan Vaclavik, a member of the CPC Central Committee and national defense minister of Czechoslovakia.

Taking part in the meeting's work also were Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states, and Henryk Jaroszek, general secretary of the Political Consultative Committee and a deputy foreign minister of Poland.

1. The participants in the meeting noted that certain favorable trends are manifest in international life as a result of efforts by socialist countries, peoples and broad sections of the world public and realism demonstrated by different government and political circles. This shows in the weakening of confrontation which has begun, in increased contacts between states in East and West, and in more favourable prerequisites created for bridling the arms race, reducing military spending and settling regional conflicts.

At the same time a radical turning point for the better has not yet taken place. [Moscow TASS in English at 1630 GMT on 16 July, in its report on the Warsaw Pact communique, renders the previous sentence: "At the same time a breakthrough for the better has not yet taken place."] The situation in the world remains complex and contradictory. [The Moscow TASS English version renders this sentence: "The situation in the world remains tense and contradictory."] There remains an enormous amount of nuclear arms, nuclear testing is continuing, and new kinds of arms are being produced. The threat of humanity and life itself on this planet being destroyed has not been removed.

The states represented at the meeting will continue doing everything possible to develop salutary processes on the international scene and make them irreversible. They urge all countries to pool and step up efforts to strengthen peace and security, effect disarmament, and foster an atmosphere making for broad-based dialogue and democratization in international life.

2. The common opinion was voiced that the fundamental issue of the times is that of averting war, putting an end to the arms race, and decisively embarking on disarmament, in the first place nuclear disarmament.

The states represented at the meeting reiterate their commitment to the ideals of a world free from weapons of mass destruction and from violence, and based on the principles of mutual equal security, democratic communal life [obshchezhitiye], and equitable extensive cooperation. They are for getting all states involved in tackling the important problems of our time. In state-to-state relations, they seek to act in a way meeting the needs and aspirations of the world community to the maximum and facilitating a free and independent development of all countries and peoples.

3. The participants in the conference exchanged information and opinions on domestic developments and changes in their countries. They reaffirmed the need for a creative approach to the theory and practices of building socialism, for taking account of changes under way in the world, and for mastering the best achievements of other peoples. Note was taken at the meeting of the socialist countries' role in international development and the significance of the contribution made by each of them to the common cause of progress, stronger peace, security, and cooperation. The participants in the conference proceed from the indivisibility and growing interdependence of the world and from the need to affirm the priority of universally shared human values in relations among all states.

4. The Warsaw Pact member states hail the entry into force of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. They consider that treaty an important first measure of real disarmament, which should be followed by further agreements in this field, first of all those on significant cuts in nuclear weapons up to and including their complete elimination.

In this connection the participants in the conference note with concern actions that can hold back and complicate the process of disarmament. They see such a threat, in particular, in plans to "compensate for" the intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles that are being eliminated by building up and extensively modernizing other weapons, whose realization can lead to another spiral of the arms race.

5. The Warsaw Pact member states stressed the significance of constructive dialogue between socialist and other countries, meetings and visits at summit and other high levels, and accords serving the cause of mutual understanding and peace.

The participants in the meeting positively assessed the development of Soviet-American dialogue and reaffirmed the position of their states in support of the Soviet Union's efforts and their determination to do everything so that summit talks bring about the conclusion of new weighty agreements in the field of disarmament and the adoption of further practical measures for strengthening international peace and security.

The states represented at the meeting declare that each of them will continue to strengthen contacts and cooperation with other countries in the interests of improving the international situation and consolidating European and universal peace.

Proceeding from the premise that all of mankind is interested in disarmament, they stressed the need for the participation of all states concerned in the talks on disarmament. It was noted that in the present-day conditions, it is necessary to develop new thinking, a new approach to issues of war and peace in the interests of reliable international security, and the peoples' right to life, to a free, independent, and decent existence.

6. The Warsaw Pact member states once again appeal to the NATO member states, the country-participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the entire international community, to build up efforts with a view to concluding as soon as possible major agreements on reducing armaments and armed forces and strengthening security and stability, and refrain from any actions that may generate difficulties in the way of movement along that path.

They single out the following priority tasks in the field of disarmament:

—Conclusion of a treaty on the 50 per cent reduction of the strategic offensive arms of the USSR and the United States given strict observance of the ABM Treaty in the form it was signed in 1972 and non-withdrawal from it within an agreed upon period.

—A general and complete [polnoye i vseobshcheye] ban [The Moscow TASS English version reads: "A comprehensive ban..."] on nuclear weapons testing and, as steps towards this goal, the conclusion of agreements on effective verification measures with a view to achieving the earliest ratification of the Soviet-American treaties of 1974 and 1976 and the conclusion of agreements on the further reduction of the yield and number of Soviet and U.S. nuclear explosions,

—Conclusion of a convention on a total ban on chemical weapons and destruction of their stockpiles,

—Reduction of the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe with a corresponding reduction in military spending.

The means released in the process of disarmament should be switched to needs of econonic and social development.

7. The participants in the meeting state that the elaboration of a mandate for the talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe is nearing completion in Vienna and prospects are opening for the resumption of the work of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe.

They pointed to the timeliness of their proposal to the NATO member countries to exchange information on the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe. In the interests of fast and productive advancement at the future talks, this exchange could be conducted early in the talks, and, if possible, before their start, envisaging verification of the information exchanged by way of on-spot inspections with the start of the talks.

The allied socialist states reaffirm their determination to press for the conclusion as soon as possible of an agreement that would lead to the elimination of the existing asymmetries and imbalances both on the all-European scale and in individual regions, substantial cuts in the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe and preclusion of sudden attacks and offensive operations.

They come out in favor of the development and expansion of the existing confidence- and security-building measures along with the elaboration of similar measures of a new generation, including the restriction of military activity in Europe and their application to the independent activity of the air and naval forces.

The meeting adopted a document relating to the talks on the reduction of the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

The actions directed at strengthening stability in the European continent should be complemented by measures for diminishing military activity in the seas and oceans around Europe, reducing military confrontation in northern Europe and the Arctic, and turning the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and cooperation.

The participants in the meeting confirm their proposal regarding the comparison of the military doctrines by representatives of the Warsaw Pact and NATO member countries with due account for their military-technological aspects with a view to imparting a purely defensive character to the military doctrines and concepts of the two military alliances and their participants.

The states represented at the meeting recall their proposals for starting direct talks between the Warsaw Pact and NATO member countries on freezing and reducing military spending and announcing a 1-2-year moratorium on a reciprocal basis on their growth.

8. The allied socialist states believe that the start of separate talks in the near future on the reduction and subsequent elimination of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, including nuclear components of dual-capable systems, would facilitate the consolidation of stability and the reduction of the risk of war on the continent.

9. The Warsaw Pact member countries proceed from the premise that the process of strengthening confidence, security and disarmament in Europe should also serve the solution of specific problems of security in individual regions. Within this context, they reaffirm the great importance of the implementation of their joint and individual proposals relating to central Europe, northern Europe, the Balkans, and the zone along the line of contact between the two alliances in the continent.

10. The states represented at the meeting note that although the 3rd special session of the U.N. General Assembly on disarmament failed to adopt a final document, it showed that the majority of states favor resolute measures for curbing the arms race and achieving disarmament in all spheres, above all the nuclear one, and new approaches to disarmament problems. It is important [The Moscow TASS English version reads: "It is essential..."] that the numerous constructive proposals advanced during the session be used in the disarmament talks. The participants in the meeting favor the multiplication of efforts by all states with a view to increasing the efficiency of the process of such talks, perfecting their mechanism, and enhancing the role of the U.N. in this sphere.

11. The states represented at the meeting proceed from the idea of jointly building an indivisible Europe of peace and cooperation, a 'common European home' in

which an atmosphere of good-neighborliness and trust would be asserted. Serving as the foundation of this process are the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act as well as of the concluding document of the Madrid meeting of representatives of the CSCE participating countries, the strict observance of which serves the strengthening of mutual understanding and constructive cooperation between European states. Also serving this aim is the establishment of official relations between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the European Economic Community.

The unchanged positions of the Warsaw Pact member states in favor of a simultaneous dissolution of military alliances were confirmed at the meeting.

The states represented at the meeting stressed that inviolability of borders, respect for existing territorial and political realities, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states and other generally recognised principles and norms of inter-state relations is a condition of the preservation of lasting peace and security in Europe. Any attempts to question these realities and their inviolability contradict the interests of detente and security, the treaties and agreements concluded in the 1970's, the Helsinki Final Act, and will be resolutely repulsed.

12. The participants in the meeting declared for the speediest conclusion of the CSCE Vienna meeting with the adoption of a substantive and balanced document. The Vienna accords should serve the strengthening of the principles of mutual relations between states taking part in the CSCE, the imparting of dynamism to the process of strengthening trust and disarmament, the development of extensive cooperation along all directions. The states represented at the meeting call on all participants in the Vienna meeting to display at its concluding stage political will and maximum of constructive efforts in order to find solutions to the remaining unsolved questions. On their part they will act precisely in this way. They came out for concluding this meeting on the level of ministers of foreign affairs.

13. The allied socialist states confirm their resolve to take part in the formation of an all-embracing system of international peace and security on the basis of strict observance of the United Nations Charter, of implementing the possibilities inherent in it, and in the working out for this purpose of confidence-building measures and measures of international cooperation in all spheres—political, military, economic, humanitarian and ecological.

The participants in the meeting declared for stepping up at the 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly the search for common approaches of states to such concrete aspects of ensuring universal security as raising the effectiveness of the United Nations and its main bodies, the role of the United Nations secretary general, including in settling conflicts between states by way of talks, good offices, mediation or reconciliation, the more extensive utilisation of the Institute of United Nations Military Observers and Peace-Keeping Forces, and the assertion of the primacy of international law in inter-state relations.

Note was made at the meeting of the importance of the contribution by non-governmental organisations, the movements of scientists, physicians, cultural figures, representatives of broad sections of the world public to the adoption of concrete measures to end the arms race, to resolutely move on to disarmament, first of all nuclear disarmament, to the practical implementation of ideas of universal security in the activity of the United Nations Organisation and its members, to ensuring peace and cooperation.

The states represented at the meeting reconfirmed the need for all countries strictly to respect the principles [The Moscow TASS English version reads: "...to observe the principles..."] of national independence and sovereignty, non-use of force or the threat of force, inviolability of borders and territorial integrity, the peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in internal affairs, equality, and other principles and aims of the United Nations Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, and other generally recognised norms of international relations.

14. Views were exchanged on questions of ecological security. The conviction was expressed that the protection and improvement of the environment and the rational utilisation of natural resources are closely connected with ensuring international security in all of its aspects, with the ending of the arms race and disarmament, first of all nuclear disarmament. The problem of ecological security is exceptionally urgent in densely populated Europe, which is oversaturated with armaments and with harmful and dangerous industries. The states represented at the conference expressed readiness to actively participate in the solution of ecological problems both on a multilateral and a bilateral basis in the interests of mankind's survival and steady development.

A document was adopted on the consequences of the arms race for the environment and on other aspects of ecological security.

15. The leaders of the states represented at the meeting express their conviction that in the present situation, special importance is being acquired by the observance and implementation of human rights and the development of international cooperation in the humanitarian field. They hold that everything should be done to ensure man's right to life and work in conditions of peace and freedom, to fully implement political, civic, economic, social, cultural and other rights in their sum total and interdependence in conditions of respect for the sovereignty of states and non-interference in their internal affairs.

16. The leaders of the Warsaw Pact member states held an exchange of views on the question of the seats of tension and conflict existing in the world. They confirmed the resolve of their states actively to facilitate their political settlement with due account for the lawful interests of the sides and with respect for the right of each people to shape its own destiny.

The participants in the meeting welcomed the commenced process of political settlement in Afghanistan. The states represented at the meeting hold that it is necessary to put an end to all outside interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and facilitate the full settlement of the Afghan question on the basis of respect for the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Afghanistan, non-interference in its internal affairs, and to ensure the country's democratic and free development.

17. The participants in the meeting welcome the growing positive role of the Nonaligned Movement in the solution of key questions of world politics.

The participants in the meeting declared for building up efforts with the aim of overcoming underdevelopment, establishing a new international economic order, and finding a just solution to the questions of external debt, which should facilitate the stability of the world economy and cooperation.

18. A detailed echange of views on the development of cooperation between the allied socialist states was conducted at the meeting. The work of the Foreign Ministers' Committee and the Defence Ministers' Committee during the period since the Berlin meeting of the PCC was positively assessed and the further tasks of these committees were determined.

Satisfaction was expressed with the activity of the multilateral group of current mutual information and the special commission on questions of disarmament. The need to further enrich the content and forms of their work was noted.

The participants in the meeting declared for building up the dynamism of external political cooperation based on equality, close interaction, and mutual responsibility, for further perfecting its mechanism and raising the effectiveness of agreed-upon actions.

The Political Consultative Committee heard a report by the commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states on the work done by the Command and adopted a relevant decision.

19. The meeting passed in an atmosphere of friendship and cooperation.

The Polish People's Republic as the host country of the meeting will ensure the distribution of its documents among other states and international organisations.

The next meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact member states will be held in Bucharest. The representative of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Constantin Oancea, was appointed general secretary of the Political Consultative Committee for the next period.

Pact Secretary Meets Press

LD1607183188 Moscow TASS in English 1808 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw July 16 TASS—The meeting of the Political Consultative Committee (PCC) of the Warsaw Treaty member states which closed in Warsaw today is a landmark that produced fruitful and constructive results, Henryk Jaroszek, PCC general secretary and Poland's deputy foreign minister, said at a press conference.

He emphasized that the events, preceeding the PCC meeting, such as the Soviet-American Moscow summit, the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the official friendly visit to Poland of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, made for the fact that the committee's meeting passed in the atmosphere of tangible improvement in international relations.

The Communique of the PCC meeting as well as other documents confirmed the unity of views of its participants. Particularly important are the statement on talks on the reduction of the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe and the document "Consequences of the Arms Race for the Environment and Other Aspects of Ecological Security," Jaroszek said.

Commentary on Peace Initiatives

LD1507193588 Moscow TASS in English 1824 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 15 TASS—TASS commentator Sergey Staroselskiy writes:

A regular meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states is being held today in the Polish capital. The whole of the history of this supreme body of the defensive alliance of socialist countries is connected with the constructive proposals aimed at the consolidation of security in the European continent and the world in general.

At its first session held in January 1956 the Political Consultative Committee adopted a declaration in which it proposed to disband the military alliances existing in Europe and to replace them with a system of collective security.

In May 1958 the supreme body of the Warsaw Treaty organization came up with an initiative on concluding a non-attack pact by the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. In the Prague political declaration of January 1983 the Political

Consultative Committee proposed to NATO to conclude a treaty on the non-use of military force and on maintaining the relations of peace.

At their meeting held in October 1985 members of the Political Consultative Committee urged the USSR and the U.S. not to deploy nuclear weapons in the countries that did not have such weapons on their territory, not to build up nuclear weapons and not to replace them with new ones in the countries where they had already been deployed.

In June 1986 the supreme body of the Warsaw treaty organization proposed a program of the reduction of the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe to the NATO member countries and to all the European states.

Late in May 1987 in Berlin the Political Consultative Committee adopted a document "On a Military Doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty Member States." In that document the socialist countries pledged "never, whatever the circumstances, to start combat operations against any state or an alliance of states unless they themselves become a target of an armed attack". Apart from it, they jointly pledged never to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

A communique of the Berlin meeting set forth proposals aimed at the consolidation of peace in Europe and the world in general. One of the highlights of the program—a suggestion that the USSR and the U.S. should conclude an agreement on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles—has been put into practice. The INF Treaty was signed during the Soviet-American summit meeting in Washington, was later ratified and came into force.

At the current meeting in Warsaw leaders of socialist countries are discussing further steps aimed at the consolidation of international security, primarily European security. Addressing the Polish Sejm, Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out that "Europe should be free from all that brings suspicion and hostility to the relations among nations... We believe that in the future the West and the East of Europe will not bristle with weapons trained on each other, but, on the contrary, will gain advantages unthinkable before from the exchange of goods and values, skill and knowledge, people and ideas".

Aboymov on Warsaw Pact Talks

LD1807112488 Moscow TASS in English 1059 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 18 TASS—Socialist countries are unanimous in their conviction that the world has reached the crucial point of its development: Although not all the confrontation moments have been limited, a process of the gradual reduction of confrontation has been started, the menace of war has been moved further away, the beginning has been set of the reduction of nuclear armaments and the settlement of regional conflicts," Ivan Aboymov has stated. The deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR addressed a press conference today on the results of the meeting of the Political Consulative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states held in Warsaw on July 15 through 16.

"Documents of the Warsaw meeting are of a non-confrontation nature, they urge the whole of the world community and especially European countries to develop cooperation in the interests of the solution of the more acute problems. The documents set forth the general understanding of what European countries should do for building a 'European home' on a solid foundation," Aboymov said.

The deputy foreign minister of the USSR pointed out that the statement on talks dealing with the reduction of the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe adopted in Warsaw last week developed and specified the joint program worked by the Warsaw treaty member countries in Budapest in 1986 and supplemented in Berlin a year ago. The statement is not just an appeal to all the European countries to start bringing down the level of military confrontation on the whole of the territory from the Atlantic to the Urals. It sets forth concrete proposals of socialist countries on European disarmament.

The Soviet diplomat pointed out that a clear goal was suggested even for the first stage of the talks: To achieve, through the elimination of disbalance and asymmetry existing today in the armed forces of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, the equal balanced levels of the armed forces and armaments which would be lower than the ones possessed today by any of the parties concerned. At the same time measures would be taken for preventing a sudden attack and effective control and exchange of complete and reliable information would be exercised.

Delegate Previews UN Debate on Airbus Downing

PM1507135588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jul 88 Second Edition p 7

[Report by own correspondent V. Linnik under the general heading: "On Terrorism and Terrorists"]

[Text] New York, 14 Jul—The start of the extraordinary UN Security Council session convened at Iran's request was postponed until today in connection with the need—recognized by all members of the Council—to extend the preliminary consultations on the problem under discussion. The session, as is well known, has been specially convened to discuss the cold-blooded destruction of an Iranian passenger aircraft by the U.S. cruiser "Vincennes," which resulted in the deaths of 298 people.

As a member of the Soviet delegation pointed out in a conversation with your correspondent, the stand taken by the United States on the eve of the session amounts to dampening as much as possible the indignation felt by world public opinion over the barbaric action taken by the U.S. fleet. From the very outset the United States has attempted to delude the world public as to the true details of the tragic incident and give a distorted picture of the events that took place on the morning of 3 July.

The U.S. stand on this issue is dictated by its intention to give the main reason for the tragedy as the continuing war between Iran and Iraq, rather than the presence of the U.S. fleet thousands of miles from its own shores.

The "prudence" and restraint demonstrated by the United States after the event, in view of the reckless actions of its seamen, are in sharp contrast to the frenzied whipping up of anti-Soviet hysteria 5 years earlier, after the tragic incident involving a South Korean airliner.

It is already clear, however, that the Americans' game is not going well—even against the background of such propaganda moves as the announcement that compensation will be paid to the families of those who died and Vice President G. Bush's personal appearance at the United Nations to offer an explanation for what happened.

The stand taken by some of the United States' closest NATO allies also amounts to an attempt to whitewash the United States in its murder of innocent people. The more indefensible the U.S. actions are in this episode, the more vehemently Western well-wishers try to defend them.

At the forthcoming Security Council session the Soviet Union again intends to return to its previous proposal regarding the need to ease the buildup of war hysteria in the region and ensure freedom of navigation in the Persian Gulf. The only way to achieve this aim is to withdraw the U.S. Navy from the Persian Gulf and replace it with multilateral UN forces.

Iran's Velayati Addresses UN on Air 'Tragedy'

LD1507122488 Moscow TASS in English 1138 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] New York July 15 TASS—'Ali Akbar Velayati, minister for foreign affairs of Iran, said: "The tragedy of the attack on a civilian airliner and horrible killing of innocent children and their mothers have so much affected the public opinion of our peoples, as well as that of the world, that we felt obliged to bring the carnage and its causes and consequences to the judgement of the international community for the sake of humanity and safeguarding international law".

Among the passengers on the morning of Sunday, 3 July, he said, had been 15 nationals of the United Arab Emirates, 10 Indian nations, six children of Pakistan, six nationals of Yugoslavia, and one Italian citizen.

Continuing, the foreign minister of Iran, Mr. Velayati, said the plane had been flying on a scheduled flight using the internationally established and published Amber 59 airway that was used at least 14 times a week.

Based on easily verifiable facts, he went on, USS Vincennes had had well over 14 minutes—and not four minutes, as American officials had claimed—of prior knowledge that the target was a civilian airliner on a scheduled flight from Bandar-e 'Abbas to Dubayy.

He asked why a warship had positioned itself right at the centre of a civilian airway. Furthermore, positioning itself right in the middle of an international civil airway, it was ironic that the ship had expected the plane to go outside of the corridor to avoid the Vincennes. A close examination clearly showed that not only had the American forces initiated the hostilities, but also they had been engaged in a series of pre-meditated acts of aggression against Iran.

The atrocity committed by the United States Administration against a civilian airliner in the airspace of Iran and in the internationally established and published Amber 59 airway was a clear violation of the principle of non-use of force in international relations, as well as a blatant disregard for the inviolability of the territorial integrity of a member state of the United Nations, he said. That criminal act was also a typical example of aggression as stipulated in the 1974 General Assembly definition of aggression. The Security Council should apply that definition within the context of aggression as embodied in the Charter.

In addition, the United States act was a clear violation of an internationally recognised obligation emanating from the letter and spirit of the 1944 Chicago Convention to guarantee the security of international civil aviation, as well as safety and regularity of flights and the safety of passengers and crew, he said.

What was the USS Vincennes defending itself against? he asked. Surely, such a claim was an outrageous and clear illustration of the moral bankruptcy of policy-makers in Washington. It had been a cowardly judgement on the part of USS Vincennes, which was, in turn, the result of an arrogant and aggressive policy.

Even if one accepted the American contention that it had been an accident, the responsibility of the United States would not be lessened. "Clearly, in granting such broad authorizations to the American naval forces in the Persian Gulf, and considering the volatile situation there (caused by their own presence), the American policy-makers were absolutely aware of the inevitability of such tragedies, and did nothing to prevent it", he said.

While the claim of it being an accident reduced the burden of the officers in the Persian Gulf, it doubled the responsibility of American political and military leaders who had given the broad instructions.

The foreign minister continued: "Today the Security Council is faced with a tragedy unprecedented in the history of armed attacks against civilian aircraft, a tragedy that can disrupt the freedom of civil aviation in the Persian Gulf and all over the world, a tragedy that has jeopardised the authority and integrity of international norms protecting civilian air travel. Therefore, it is necessary for the Security Council to pronounce itself in most clear and unequivocal terms with regard to the violation of the most commonly accepted norms of international law".

Continuing, Mr. Velayati, foreign minister of Iran, said the Security Council could not but condemn the United States for its unjustified shooting down of the civilian airliner of Iran. Anything less than a clear condemnation would be a clear show of disrespect for human life and the innocent passengers, including more than 100 women and children who had been massacred in the tragedy.

Since the very inception of the United States policy of dispatching its largest naval fleet to the Persian Gulf, the international community had witnessed nothing but tragedy, exacerbated tension and increased instability in that volatile waterway, he said. United States Government officials had declared since early last year that the objective of American presence in the Persian Gulf was protection of commercial shippings and maintenance of freedom of navigation of international waters, he said. That claim was baseless because of the responsibility of littoral states—and not of outsiders—for the maintenance of security, and was also unacceptable due to results and consequences emanating from the presence of American forces in the region. Their presence not only did not establish security in the region but actually escalated tension. The number of ships attacked in the Persian Gulf had doubled since last July.

The large-scale presence of the American forces comprising tens of warship and destroyers was not proportionate to the intensity of the alleged danger existing in the region, continued Foreign Minister Velayati of Iran. In fact, stationing tens of warships in a limited marine area like the Persian Gulf automatically caused further confrontation and escalation of tension.

He said he wished to consider the adverse legal consequences of the American presence in the Persian Gulf. The presence of the United States forces in the region of the Persian Gulf and Sea of Oman was contrary to the neutrality claimed by the United States Administration in the imposed war.

The foreign minister said further that American warships had, on more than one occasion, entered Iranian territorial waters, thereby violating the sovereignty and territoral integrity of Iran.

The foreign minister of Iran, Mr. Velayati, went on to say that no principles and rules of international law could in any way justify the illegal and forceful action of the American forces in the region unless it was accepted that today international relations were based on force and that the law of the jungle regulated relations between the bigger and smaller nations.

He said: "It is evident that the massive United States military presence has brought the people of the region nothing but insecurity, death, destruction, lawlessness, intervention and tension. Safety of shipping lanes and freedom of navigation have been increasingly imperiled, safety of commercial flights has been endangered, air law has been violated, Law of the Sea has been trampled, hundreds of innocent people, being men, women or children, have lost their lives, the marine environment has been contaminated, the sovereignty and political independence of the Islamic Republic of Iran have been breached, peace and security of the region have been threatened, threat or use of force have become means of arriving at illegitimate ends, international rules and regulations relating to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and sovereign equality of independent states as well as the ideal for peace and justice have been vividly transgressed". [sentence as received]

It was time that the Security Council took a more serious and objective look at the grave threat of international peace and security, and compelled the United States and other foreign forces to leave the Persian Gulf, he said. Anything less would be a further evasion of responsibility by the Security Council, which could not be forgiven under the present circumstances.

Lozinskiy, Others Cited

LD1607113988 Moscow TASS in English 1102 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] New York July 16 TASS—At its meeting on Friday, the United Nations Security Council continued the discussion of the actions of the U.S. naval force in the Persian Gulf that downed an Iranian civilian airliner. Representatives of various countries of the international community expressed serious concern over U.S. actions that resulted in the death of 290 passengers.

Yugoslavia's delegate Dragoslav Pejic, specifically, said that the numerous explanations of a military and technical nature that had been offered regarding the circumstances leading to the tragic incident were hardly acceptable to his country. In effect, the tragedy was the primary consequence of the great military tension and psychoses surrounding the region, he said.

Li Luye of the PRC said his country was shocked by the tragedy and condemned the action. The Government of the United States had responsibility for the incident. China declared against military interference of a great power in the affairs of the region as this does nothing to promote the ensurance of peace and stability in the area, but quite the contrary, can lead to the further heightening of the conflict.

"The bombing of the airliner was more than a technical error, it was a failure of political will", said Muhammad Husayn al-Shu'ali, of the United Arab Emirates.

The downing of an Iranian passenger airliner by U.S. missile has been a dramatic confirmation of what the Soviet Union had been warning against more than once, namely, the unprecedented build up of a number of U.S. warships and planes in the area, created the explosive situation fraught with most grievious consequences, Soviet representative Valentin Lozinskiy said in his speech.

It was alleged that the bringing of a U.S. armada into the Persian Gulf meets the interests of creating a security regime in the area. But facts show that what has been created as a result of the Pentagon's actions was not a security regime, but a regime of heightened danger. If the Soviet Union's warnings had been taken into consideration, the Security Council would not have had the need to discuss such events as what happened on July 3. The tragedy emphasizes again the need for an undelayed withdrawal of the U.S. Navy from the Persian Gulf. The Soviet side expresses the hope that the United States leadership will draw undelayed conclusions concerning its policy in the Persian Gulf.

A responsible and balanced approach, constructive cooperation are needed in the present explosive situation. The Soviet Union emphasizes the undelayed need for the lowering of tension in the area, for the withdrawal of U.S. troops out of the area and solution of security problem in the Gulf by means of a United Nations naval presence. This would be an effective factor of improving the situation on international waterways of the region, would promote the putting into operation of a mechanism of the political settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict, the USSR representative said.

The Soviet delegation holds that the Security Council should duly respond to Iraq's address in connection with the downing of the Iranian passenger airliner, should give a corresponding assessment as to what has happened and take measures for an early normalisation of the situation and ensurance of security in the area.

Representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, FRG, also spoke at the meeting on Friday. Their speeches, however, contained an attempt to switch the debate on irresponsible actions of the USA in downing an Iranian airliner to deliberations about the Iran-Iraq conflict as a whole.

But, as Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati said at a news conference on Friday, Iran expects that the Security Council condemn the United States actions and take measures to prevent the repetition of such tragedies. He said Iran also presses for security in the Persian Gulf. But this should be security for all countries of the region and it can be ensured by those countries themselves. The minister said Iran is prepared for cooperation with littoral countries to ensure it.

Touching on the Iran-Iraq conflict as a whole, 'Ali Akbar Velayati said that Iran supports the plan of the United Nations secretary-general for its settlement and will continue consultations with Perez de Cuellar.

Gorbachev Proposals, Gulf Situation Viewed

LD1507211388 Moscow World Service in English 0310 GMT 15 Jul 88

[From the "Update" program]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] In the following 10-minute portion of "Update," as usual, we will be looking at some of the major international developments as we see them from Moscow. Reviewing the world scene today is our observer Yuriy Reshetnikov. [passage omitted]

Before returning home, he [Gorbachev] is to attend a summit meeting of the Warsaw Treaty alliance on Friday and Saturday. The meeting of the Political Consultative Committee is to be attended by top officials of the socialist alliance and will focus on cardinal issues of the world, but above all on European issues. What is the significance of that meeting and what specific issues is it likely to discuss?

[Reshetnikov] Halfway through his trip to Poland Mikhail Gorbachev told a friendship rally in Szczecin that the Warsaw Treaty nations were preparing new constructive ideas for arms reduction in Europe, and they were ready to work with NATO for keys to better peace. The Political Consultative Committee meets in Warsaw at a time of a seeming impasse in further arms control steps. After the successful conclusion of the INF Treaty banning medium- and shorter-range missiles, ratified by the superpowers at the Moscow summit last month, there is now urgent need for further progress in arms control.

The stumbling block on the way toward further steps appears to be the issue of conventional arms. The Soviet leader noted in his speech at the Polish Parliament that the INF Treaty compels political thought to search for new approaches on conventional weaponry.

It is expected that the 2-day meeting of the Warsaw Treaty leaders will discuss those new approaches. We are coming to that session with new constructive ideas, Mikhail Gorbachev told the meeting in Szczecin. We are ready to look without any prejudice at the present situation in Europe and in the world, and, together with our partners in the West, look for keys to better peace.

[Announcer] In his Parliament speech Mikhail Gorbachev called for an all-European disarmament summit to discuss ways of breaking a logjam in East-West arms talks and spur progress toward a reduction of conventional arms. In a concrete move, he offered to reduce Soviet air strength in Eastern Europe in return for the cancellation of NATO plans to relocate 72 F-16 fighter bombers to Italy after their scheduled withdrawal from Spain. And he also suggested setting up a permanent war risk reduction center in Europe to help consolidate peace on the continent. These proposals are most likely to be discussed at the Warsaw Treaty meeting. NATO officials, however, indicated their chief interest lies in eliminating asymmetries in conventional arms. Is the Soviet Union prepared to discuss this issue together with its allies?

[Reshetnikov] Well, the Soviet leader indicated that Warsaw Treaty members are prepared to take an unprejudiced look at the present situation. The Soviet Union maintains that there is now an approximate, if asymmetric, balance of forces between the two alliances on the continent. While the Warsaw Treaty alliance has more tanks and artillery pieces, the Atlantic alliance has an advantage in antitank weapons and tactical aircraft.

In his Parliament speech, Mikhail Gorbachev reiterated Soviet proposals for a stage-by-stage reduction in conventional weapons and armies on the European Continent. His restated proposals call for elimination of all NATO-Warsaw Treaty imbalances and asymmetries, both in Europe as a whole and in separate regions. After the elimination of asymmetries, the two alliances reduce their forces by 500,000 men each. These cuts are to be continued as to finally give the armed forces of both sides a purely defensive nature.

These proposals are likely to be further enlarged at the Warsaw Treaty meeting beginning on Friday.

[Announcer] The United Nations Security Council met on Thursday to discuss the destruction of an Iranian airliner by the United States Navy, which killed nearly 300 people on board. The United States Administration, in an unusual move, dispatched Vice President George Bush to represent the American side, while Iran is represented by its foreign minister. Now, why did the American side choose to send George Bush to the gathering?

[Reshetinikov] Observers believe the United States is concerned about the possibility of being condemned at the Security Council and it is taking no chances. It seems that Washington is trying to divert the attention of the Council from the incident itself and [is] focusing largely on the continuing Iran-Iraq war. White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater told reporters the vice president would make clear American views not only on this incident but on the war, on Iranian responsibility in this case.

The other reason for sending Bush to the Security Council is to give him a broad media exposure, something that could bolster his Republican presidential campaign, and in this respect internal American politics appear to play a part in what is purely an international case.

[Announcer] The resolution, as written, demanded the United States pull its forces out of the Gulf and pay reparations to Iran. While the United States is expected to hear some angry words from the Iranian representatives, few observers believe Washington will accept a resolution condemning its actions or calling for extraordinary effort, like pulling the American naval force from the Gulf. Does that mean the destruction of a civil aircraft in the Gulf by American forces will not effect Washington's policy in the area?

[Reshetnikov] Well, it was hoped, of course, that the latest tragic incident would serve as a bitter reminder of the dangers that American policies in the area hold and the United States would somehow reconsider those policies. The latest shoot-out between the U.S. and Iranian forces in the Gulf seems to indicate that no lesson has been learned from the earlier tragic incident. In fact, shipping authorities have expressed fears that the U.S. presence in the Gulf is merely aggravating the conflict in the waterway. According to one shipping official, there is a school of thought that says the Gulf would be a safer place for everyone if the United States Navy just sailed away. [passage omitted]

Lobov on Naval Activity in Asia-Pacific Region

PM1507115188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Jul 88 First Edition p 3

[Article by Colonel General V.N. Lobov, first deputy chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces: "The Aspiration to Superiority. On the Correlation of Soviet and U.S. Naval Forces in the Asia-Pacific Region"]

[Text] One of the main events in world political life at the end of the eighties was the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range

Missiles by the Soviet and U.S. leaders and its subsequent ratification. This became possible as a result of the new political thinking, proclaimed by the Soviet Union at the 27th CPSU Congress, being translated into the real language of interstate relations.

The realization by both countries of the need to increase dialogue and improve interstate relations by political means has produced the first real results in the task of building a nonnuclear, nonviolent peace on the planet. However, a considerable number of obstacles of an objective nature and the mutual suspicion and mistrust which have accumulated over the decades have still to be overcome on the way to achieving real agreements.

An important factor in this respect is the sides' realization that their armed forces must be built on the basis of the principle of sufficiency from the defense viewpoint. In other words, they must be built at the lowest possible level of armaments guaranteeing the sides' equal security. As far as Europe is concerned, the 35 participant states in the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security in Europe are on the whole moving in this direction. The confidence-building measures evolved at the conference make it possible to monitor all military ground forces activity. Consultations are in progress between NATO and the Warsaw Pact at the Vienna meeting, aimed at drawing up a mandate for talks on reducing armed forces and conventional arms from the Atlantic to the Urals. However, despite the fact that talks on the questions of disarmament and security in central Europe have been in progress for more than 20 years, the sides' air and naval forces still remain outside the field of discussion.

As the process of disarmament on the European Continent is, nonetheless, gradually gathering momentum, the problems of radically reducing armed forces and conventional arms to the point of reasonable sufficiency in the Asia-Pacific region are still not the subject of negotiation.

In July 1986 M.S. Gorbachev spoke in Vladivostok of the Soviet Union's willingness to begin talks on scaling down the activity of naval fleets in the Pacific, primarily the activity of ships equipped with nuclear weapons. In particular, he proposed to limit rivalry in the sphere of antiship weapons [protivolodochnoye oruzhiye]; reach an accord to cease antiship activity in certain zones of the Pacific; support the initiative to create nuclear-free zones on the Korean peninsula and in Southeast Asia; and place the discussion of confidence-building measures and nonuse of force in the region on a practical footing. Moreover, the Soviet Union has already taken certain unilateral steps in this direction with regard to neighboring countries in Asia.

It is a well-known fact that not one of the proposals in the entire package put forward by M.S. Gorbachev in his interview with the Indonesian newspaper MERDEKA has found practical support from the United States. The U.S. side has totally rejected our willingness to freeze the number of our nuclear-armed aircraft in the Asian part of the country on the condition that the United States does not station in the Asia-Pacific region nuclear systems capable of reaching Soviet territory. Washington also reacted in the same manner to our proposals to limit the scale of naval exercises and maneuvers in the Pacific and Indian Oceans; to restrict the regions of navigation open to nuclear-armed ships so that they cannot bring their on-board nuclear means within operational range of the other side's seaboard; and to limit antiship rivalry.

Evidently, the stand taken by the United States is becoming increasingly clear to countries in the region. For example, in March this year the Philippine foreign minister, speaking on the significance of the U.S. military bases in his country, noted that the bases do not serve Philippine security interests, but only the military and strategic interests of Washington itself.

We cannot fail to be alarmed by the fact that recurrences of old thinking on the part of the United States are mixed with constant U.S. attempts to place the responsibility for the increased military threat in the Asia-Pacific region on the Soviet Union, and to dangerously delude countries in the region regarding the aims of Soviet foreign policy.

Let us look the facts in the face: From Alaska to the Philippines and from Japan to Micronesia there are U.S. Air Force and U.S. Navy bases with kilometers and kilometers of runways; mooring facilities for ships; signals and electronic intelligence [radio-i radiotekhnicheskaya razvedka], surveillance, and navigation centers; and depots for military equipment and weapons, including nuclear weapons, with repair complexes and enormous capacity. In all there are some 300 different military installations.

Take, for example, the U.S. bases in the Philippines we have already mentioned, which are allegedly a "counterweight to Cam Ranh" in Southeast Asia. We have covered this issue more than once in the press but it is worth dwelling on it again.

Under an accord reached with the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Soviet Union does not have a naval base at Cam Ranh, only a material and technical support point for ships of its Pacific Fleet. And that has only been there since 1979. So what is the difference between the Pacific Fleet's material and technical support point at Cam Ranh and the Subic Bay Naval Base in the Philippines? This is no idle question. Recently, with the 1947 U.S.-Philippine agreement on military bases due to expire in 1991, people are speaking out increasingly frequently in favor of preserving these bases as a "counterweight to the Soviet installation in Vietnam." But, first, this "counterweight" appeared at the end of the forties, 30 years before the abovementioned Soviet-Vietnamese accord. Second, let us take a look at this "counterweight," if it may be termed such.

Characteristics of USSR Navy Material and Technical Support Point at Cam Ranh and U.S. Naval Base at Subic Bay

	USSR	United States
Number of ships based at Cam Ranh and Subic Bay at any one time	10	35
Number of moorage points	7	20
Size of petroleum product depots (thousands of tonnes)	7	400
Size of munition dumps (thousands of tonnes)	0.15	50

In addition to this, there have been reports that U.S. nuclear weapons are being stationed on Philippine territory, which fundamentally changes the nature of the problem.

Let us look at an assessment of the correlation of Soviet and U.S. naval forces in the Pacific as a whole. A report issued by the White House itself on 28 January 1987 frankly states on this issue: "Our superiority at sea allows us to use the geographical vulnerability of the Soviet Union and create a global threat to Soviet interests." An exhaustive answer, as they say, and one requiring no comment. Now some words on the composition and functions of the Soviet Pacific Fleet and the U.S. Navy in this region of the world.

The main purpose of the Soviet Navy and its Pacific Fleet, as a component part of the Navy, is to defend the socialist fatherland against possible seaborne attack from the Pacific.

In this respect the number of the Pacific Fleet's combat systems is determined by the limits of reasonable sufficiency for repelling possible aggression against our country. It is worth pointing out that warships and aircraft in the Pacific Fleet have never committed any acts of aggression against the peoples of this region.

Western insinuations of "Soviet naval expansion" allege that the Soviet Navy has a considerable advantage in submarines and sea-launched cruise missiles, that entire squadrons call at Vietnamese and Cambodian ports, and that fleet aircraft make dozens if not hundreds of landings at SRV airfields. In reality, however, the situation in the region is as follows.

The number of nuclear-powered submarines (with the exception of nuclear submarines with ballistic missiles on board—SSBN's—which are counted in the balance of the two sides' strategic nuclear forces) the Soviet Union and the United States have in the Pacific is identical, although the Americans have an eight-fold advantage over us in the number of multirole nuclear submarines equipped with long-range cruise missiles. Considering the defensive functions and tasks of the Pacific Fleet, it has considerably fewer ships in the ocean zone and no aircraft carriers or battleships at all. As far as fleet aircraft are concerned, here too the United States has a threefold advantage in terms of the total number of combat aircraft, and more than a tenfold advantage in carrier-based aircraft.

The West often claims that the Soviet Union will "project" its naval might by conducting landing operations to "seize the most important objectives and strategically important straits." However, here too there is an obvious discrepancy with reality. The U.S. naval infantry in the Pacific region is substantially larger (more than 27 times larger) than that of the Soviet Union, and its functions in the Asia-Pacific region are clearly aggressive. The United States also has the advantage over us by a factor of almost 2.5 in the number of amphibious warfare ships and vessels capable of transporting troops over large distances.

Now some words on naval activity in the Asia-Pacific region.

In terms of military-strategic signifiance, the Asia-Pacific region is regarded by the U.S. military-political leadership as the most important potential theater of war after Europe and the Atlantic zone. U.S. political, military, and economic interests are concentrated here—hence the increased U.S. naval activity in this region. In this respect we cannot fail to be concerned by the growing presence of forward-based U.S. naval forces in close proximity to the Soviet Union's Far Eastern borders. This primarily applies to the buildup in the U.S. 7th Fleet of ships armed with nuclear-capable "Tomahawk" cruise missiles with a range of 2,500 km. U.S. SSBN's with nuclear weapons on board continue to call at Japanese ports. Some 40 such port calls were made in 1987 alone. The U.S. Navy's 3d Fleet Force [operativnyy flot], whose area of responsibility now extends to the northwestern Pacific right up to the Kamchatka seaboard, is also becoming more active. In this connection the nature and scale of U.S. Navy combat and operations training in this region have changed. Large-scale exercises involving aircraft carriers, battleships, and amphibious warfare ships encompass the sea areas close to the Soviet Union's borders from the Sea of Japan to the Bering Sea. Provocative incidents involving violations of the Soviet state border in the Far East have become more frequent. The Soviet Union is becoming increasingly concerned by U.S. actions designed to involve Japan and South Korea in the implementation of U.S. military strategy. This primarily applies to U.S.-Japanese military cooperation.

The measures to build up naval combat potential close to the Soviet Union's eastern borders are accompanied by an increase in the intensiveness and scale of the exercises and maneuvers. The aggressive nature of these exercises is shown by the fact that they are conducted along the same lines as similar NATO exercises in the Atlantic and Europe and that they rehearse elements of the concept of an air-land operation to seize the Kuril Islands and Sakhalin.

We therefore cannot underestimate the danger of this buildup of naval might close to our borders in the Far East. We have no guarantee that the concentration of naval groupings in the western Pacific, particularly during major exercises and maneuvers, will not create the threat of a surprise attack on the Soviet Union.

A real picture of the correlation of Soviet and U.S. naval forces in the Asia-Pacific region makes it possible to draw the correct conclusion as to the real source of any threat, which forces are really targeted against which, which side has really formed a defensive grouping, and who poses a threat to whom. Indeed, why should the "defensive" side have a 27-fold advantage in naval infantry, more than a threefold advantage in warships, and more than a tenfold advantage in carrier-based aircraft? And why should that same defensive side keep its warships in virtually every region of the world's oceans? We will cite a few figures to illustrate the activeness of the U.S. Navy: Every year U.S. warships make 700-800 calls at foreign ports, compared to 450-470 such calls by Soviet warships.

Our notion that all problems must be solved at the negotiating table is reflected in all Soviet initiatives and proposals. We advocate eliminating the asymmetry and imbalance in such a way as to bring about a lower rather than higher level of military confrontation; we advocate a cardinal reduction in armed forces and military activity on land and at sea; we advocate the formulation of confidence-building measures in the Pacific zone on a reciprocal basis. We advocate a nonnuclear, nonviolence peace throughout the world, including, of course, the Asia-Pacific region, where two-thirds of the world's population lives.

In this respect the Soviet Union is not pursuing its own narrow national interests. As is the case with other regions of the world, Moscow works on the basis that our own security in the Asia-Pacific region can only be guaranteed if consideration is given to the security interests of all other states. Nor do we lay claim to the absolute truth or to having ready-made solutions to all the problems facing us in this region. We are very well disposed toward any constructive proposals designed to strengthen international security and take into account the vital aspirations and interests of the region's peoples.

Ignoring these aspirations would be extremely irresponsible from a historical viewpoint. For our part we are prepared for dialogue. It is time for those who still think in terms of "Soviet expansionism" to look the truth in the face. Otherwise they risk being bypassed by the objective development processes taking place in the Asia-Pacific region.

United States & Canada

U.S. Citizen Sauter Granted Soviet Asylum

LD1707185688 Moscow TASS in English 1107 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 17 TASS—Glen Michael Sauter, a U.S. citizen, has applied to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR with a request for asylum in the USSR.

He motivated his request by stating that he had to hide from U.S. secret services which unfoundedly persecuted him.

Guided by humane considerations, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR complied with the request of Glen Michael Sauter and granted him asylum in the USSR.

Bush Remarks on Airbus Incident Assailed

LD1507134188 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] And now Aleksandr Pogodin comments on the United Nations Security Council meeting that has discussed the actions of the American Navy in the Persian Gulf following the shooting down of an Iranian airliner with 290 passengers and an 8-man crew on board.

The commentator notes first of all that the United States interests for the first time were defended at the Security Council by the country's vice president. I am no judge of that choice, writes Pogodin. Some observers think that the United States's vulnerable position induced the administration to use the prestige of the second man in the state structure; others suppose that Mr George Bush tried to score extra points in the contest for the presidency by playing on the chauvinistic feelings of some United States citizens.

In any case, writes Aleksandr Pogodin, the position stated by the vice president permits two conclusions. First, the United States has failed to evade responsibility for the act of state-sponsored terrorism and to shift the blame on the other side. The vice president declared that responsibility for the tragedy rests with those who sent a passenger plane to the combat zone of the American Navy. I find this treatment of the issue perverted. Why should international airlines change the accepted norms and airways for the diktat of the American military establishment? The real issue is why should the U.S. Navy be in the area where its presence inevitably leads to such tragedies?

And now for my second conclusion from the vice president's speech at the Security Council. He was lavish with expressions of condolences. One might expect him to say what his country is going to do to avoid a repetition of the tragedy. Nothing like that followed. The policies of the United States and its allies in the Persian Gulf remain unchanged. Our naval presence, continued Mr Bush, is approved by peace-loving nations and threatens no one. But we are prepared to rebuff threats. Unfortunately the victims of the missile shooting over the Persian Gulf cannot object to the United States vice president.

Further Criticism of Comments

LD1707011688 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Commentary by Radio Moscow news analyst Valentin Zorin]

[Text] Lately Vice President George Bush has made a number of statements which have attracted attention here in Moscow. They are very reminiscent of the past, when all sort of tags were put on the Soviet Union such as an empire of evil. The vice president is also very pessimistic about the prospect of concluding a treaty on a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive arms. Concerning the change for the better in Soviet-American relations, he claims this is due to the American military buildup. What is more, he links that also with the sweeping reforms going on in the home policy of the Soviet Union.

To say that George Bush makes such statements because he isn't sufficiently informed would, of course, be wrong. When the General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev was in Washington, the vice president had a good chance of getting firsthand information about everything, and what he said then is absolutely different from what he says today. George Bush is, of course, an experienced politician. He went through many political battles and, as a contender for the presidential office, he no doubt is aware of the feelings of the overwhelming majority of voters. And they are for continuing the policy of reducing international tension and attaining practical Soviet-American agreement. But, apparently, it is more important for the vice president to please the right-wing elements and secure the support of the arms manufacturing corporations that don't want to give up their fabulous profits.

Such a reaction to George Bush's statement doesn't mean that Moscow gives preference to a Democratic Party candidate. Though the governor of Massachusetts hasn't been making such statements as his Republican rival, his foreign policy platform is rather vague and indefinite. Incidentally, the Soviet-American relations were more productive at a time when a Republican was in the White House. So this isn't a question of whom we like and don't like. The choice will be made by the Americans. It seems to me, however, that it is simply impossible not to take notice of the latest statements made by George Bush.

PRAVDA Editor Raps 'Hostile' Reagan Speech

LD1507222788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 15 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; comment by Tomas Kolesnichenko, PRAVDA's International Information Department editor]

[Text] Hello, comrades! Another what I would call tiresome farce has been staged in Washington: The 30th so-called Enslaved People's Week has been marked there by a shrill and hostile speech by President Reagan, in which he again reiterated the jarring and far from gentlemanly selection of anti-communist slogans. Reagan's assertions about the so-called enslaved peoples—by which he means our republic, the socialist countries of Europe, Cuba, Nicaragua, Vietnam, Laos, Angola, Cambodia, Ethiopia, and so on—positively reek of anachronism and of political naphthalene.

In other words, the main motive forces of the present day, the national liberation movement of peoples, their choice of socialism, and the very idea of communism are all lumped together and declared to be enslavement. Ronald Reagan has once again demonstrated that he views himself as some sort of provincial overthrower of communism, a view with which he embarked on his career in California, has not changed in the intervening decades. That is his own affair. However, not all that the governor of California can say is suitable for the U.S. President.

Coming from him, promises of aid in the fight against legitimate regimes and governments that Washington is unhappy with sound more like direct interference in the affairs of other countries and people. In practice this is the case, for instance in Angola, Nicaragua, Afghanistan, and other countries into which flow hundreds of millions of U.S. taxpayers' dollars to help organize and support armed opposition, and to incite wars that claim the lives of those very people who are promised the benefit of U.S.-style freedom by the President.

The irony of all this is also that many of the people whom the U.S. President considers enslaved have, on the socialist road, already far outstripped, in terms of their social security, their democracy, and even their standard of living, the millions of Americans who are slipping beneath the poverty line.

There is another point that is evident today: The changes on the world scene, the trends toward an understanding of the way the world is interconnected, and the movement toward dialogue rather than confrontation between political systems. Of course, the U.S. President knows of this. He knows of the processes that are currently going on with us in terms of democratization, glasnost, and the desire to fully attain socialism's potential. He knows it and is clearly very worried about it—above all, about the fact that the attractive force of socialism is being revived. Moreover, Washington's attempts to teach other people how to construct their lives are primitive and hollow. The United States, the President claims, will light the way as the whole world emerges into freedom from the dark abyss of tyranny. Light it with what? With the flashes of shots in the Persian Gulf? Or with the reflections of fires started by terrorist actions somewhere in Angola or in the Middle East? On behalf of Vice President Bush and himself, at the end of his speech Reagan promised that they would never stop speaking the truth. The President's speech is evidence that as yet he has not even started speaking it on this theme. But it is high time. The time has come for this.

U.S. Official on Human Rights Talks

LD1507212788 Moscow TASS in English 1545 GMT 14 Jul 88

["Hope for Progress in Soviet-American Relations"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow July 14 TASS—Significant positive changes have taken place of late in the Soviet-American dialogue on human rights and humanitarian problems. This was said by U.S. assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs Richard Schifter who took part in the Soviet-American round-table conference that was held here from July 11 to July 13.

In an interview to a TASS correspondent Richard Schifter expressed the view that both sides count on further progress in this area in which the situation is now much better than a year ago.

The assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs holds that the perestroyka drive in the USSR plays the key role in these processes. It exerted influence on various areas of relations between the USSR and the USA, including the dialogue on human rights. Schifter said that the Theses for the 19th all-union party conference which mentioned the need to upgrade Soviet legislation, the conference's resolutions on a reform of the political system and legal reform produce great impression.

He noted that there have been changes in many areas of life in the USSR. And the U.S. representative expressed the opinion that these changes are made not for the sake of Americans but for the Soviet people. If the spirit of these resolutions is implemented, this will not only influence the position of Soviet people but will be a contribution to Soviet-American relations, he said.

Asked about the accusations addressed to the Soviet Union that appeared in the Western press of late about alleged new obstacles to those leaving the country, Schifter said he has the information that the volume of the emigration grows. But there are unresolved problems in this area, he noted.

The U.S. assistant secretary of state is of the opinion that the widening of ties and exchanges in the area of humanitarian cooperation will be an important contribution to the strengthening of Soviet-American relations. Richard Schifter noted that contacts with Soviet colleagues have become much warmer and friendlier and that cooperation in a constructive spirit should be continued.

Marshal Akhromeyev Describes U.S. Visit

PM1707144588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Jul 88 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed own correspondent interview with Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev: "USSR-United States: Dialogue Continues. Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR First Deputy Defense Minister, Answers KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's Questions"—date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Question: What were the aims of the Soviet military delegation's visit to the United States?

Answer: First and foremost, I would like to say that the Soviet military delegation visited the United States 6 through 11 July at the invitation of Admiral W. Crowe, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff.

This visit became possible thanks to the positive changes in Soviet-U.S. relations achieved as a result of the four summits in the last 3 years between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President R. Reagan.

The dialogue between the leaders of our countries has made it possible to begin dialogue along military lines, too. This is borne out by the two meetings between Army General D.T. Yazov, USSR defense minister, and U.S. Secretary of Defense F. Carlucci held in Bern and Moscow. Incidentally, we are again expecting the U.S. defense secretary on an official visit to Moscow in early August this year. U.S. Secretary of the Air Force E. Aldridge was in our country at the start of July. I think that such reciprocal visits by representatives of our countries' military departments are essential.

As for the aim of our delegation's visit to the United States, it amounted to the following. On the one hand, we discussed a number of important problems with Admiral W. Crowe: the sides' military doctrines, questions of military contacts, the principles of military activity taking account of the prevention of incidents between the Soviet and U.S. Armed Forces, and certain questions on disarmament themes. On the other hand, our program envisaged a tour of the country in order to familiarize ourselves with the U.S. public and to visit a number of military installations which the U.S. side showed to us.

Question: What specifically did you manage to see?

Answer: Our delegation, which included chiefs of the main staffs of the Ground Forces, Navy, and Air Force, visited the Camp Lejeune Base, North Carolina, where we were shown exercises by U.S. Marines. The same day we went aboard the aircraft carrier "Theodore Roosevelt" and watched flights by deck-borne aircraft. At Fort Hood Base, Texas, we attended exercises by ground forces subunits. At the U.S. Air Force's Ellsworth Base we were shown B-1B bombers, modern U.S. fighter aircraft, and the Minuteman 2 ICBM.

Question: Did you, as a professional soldier, learn anything new?

Answer: We were shown totally modern weapons and combat hardware. Although we were quite knowledgeable about it, familiarization with the arms and the operations of weapons units, crews, and subunits dealing with these weapons and hardware was nonetheless of some [opredelennyy] interest to us. I must note the professional training of the personnel and their skill at handling the weapons and hardware entrusted to them.

The meetings and talks with U.S. servicemen—men, women, generals, officers, sergeants, and enlisted men—were of great interest to us. To a certain extent these meetings altered some of the ideas we had held previously.

At Fort Hood, Texas, I asked an American tanker at the end of exercises: "Why do you think Soviet generals have come to the United States and are meeting with U.S. servicemen?" "I don't know why you're here," he honestly admitted, "but the fact that we're meeting with you and seeing each other is a good thing." It seems to me that this reply of typically soldier-like succinctness expresses the desire of the American servicemen for an expansion of contacts between our armed forces.

Question: During your stay in the country, Admiral William Crowe was constantly with the Soviet delegation. What are your impressions of your talks with him?

Answer: Admiral Crowe received our delegation like an attentive and solicitous host. He did everything to make the visit come off successfully. I want to express to him my appreciation for the fact that he was with the delegation throughout the week of our stay in the United States. As a result, we had the opportunity to converse with him for many hours each day. Everyone can understand how busy the person is who occupies the post of chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. Nevertheless, he was with us for the whole week. This indicates the significance which Admiral W. Crowe attaches both to the visit by the delegation and also to Soviet-American relations as a whole.

I want to add that William Crowe seems to me to be a thoughtful and patient person who possesses broad views of military-political problems, who knows how to listen to an opponent, and who endeavors to understand his anxieties. But at the same time he himself raised some pointed issues, and tried to ensure that they are examined with the interests of the United States being taken into consideration.

Let me observe that in conversations with William Crowe, we touched not only upon strictly military topics. The admiral spoke of the history of the creation of the United States, about the social processes taking place when this was happening, and about how the American nation took shape. As for military-political issues, we examined in a most detailed manner all the problems which are worrying the Soviet Union, problems of which the United States and its NATO allies are the source. On the other hand, we also studied in no less detail the claims which are being made by the United States against us—the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries. Admiral Crowe and I had many sharp discussions and differences [raskhozhdeniya]. He had his own assessment and we had ours which, you will agree, is on the whole natural. But the great benefit for both sides lies in the fact that we patiently and attentively analyzed the complex problems and tried to understand the reasons for the reciprocal grievances. I am sure that the result of all this is also useful for future negotiations and for relations in general between our countries.

Question: And so, what then are the results of the visit by the Soviet military delegation to the United States?

Answer: The results, in my view, are positive. First of all, we have exchanged letters and have brought into play a plan for military contacts between the United States and the USSR for a period of 3 years. This plan provides for visits to the USSR and to the United States by the leaders of the armed forces of our two countries. We also reached agreement on visits by warships to Soviet and American ports, on exchanges of sports delegations from our armies, delegations of military historians and medics, and on certain other contacts.

All this will make it possible for both sides to get to know each other better, and it will promote an understanding of what is taking place in the armies of the USSR and of the United States.

We also began work on the prevention of dangerous incidents and we made a decision to set up Soviet and American groups which will be working in this sphere. After some time, I hope, this work will lead to certain accords. Finally, the fact that we examined issues pertaining to the reduction of strategic offensive arms and the ABM Treaty was an important step.

China

Reportage on Shultz Visit, Discussion Topics

Beijing Arrival Noted

LD1507122388 Moscow TASS in English 0908 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Beijing July 14 TASS—Today U.S. State Secretary George Shultz arrived here on an official visit at the invitation of Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen. The Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman said that during the visit the sides would discuss questions of Chinese-American relations, as well as international problems of mutual interest, including the Kampuchean question.

Talks With Officials Cited

LD1507213788 Moscow TASS in English 2106 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Beijing July 15 TASS—The recent years have become a period of positive changes in the international situation, said foreign minister of the People's Republic of China Qian Qichen, speaking at a reception in honour of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, now on an official visit here.

The signing of the INF Treaty, said the foreign minister, signified a major step of the USSR and the USA on the long road of nuclear disarmament. The call for a peace settlement of international conflicts now sounds as powerfully as never before, he said. East-West relations started advancing towards detente and development. This manifests a dialogue-in place of-confrontation tendency.

According to an official accompanying Shultz, Qian Qichen said at the negotiations with the U.S. secretary of state that China does not support the return of Red Khmers as the dominant force in Kampuchea. He also said that some top-ranking leaders of Red Khmers had made it clear that they would resign.

George Shultz today met with Chairman of the Central Military Commission of the People's Republic of China Deng Xiaoping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Zhao Ziyang and Premier of the State Council Li Peng.

At a press conference held in Beijing George Shultz said that the main questions negotiated in Beijing were problems of China's sale of missiles to Middle East countries and Iran, and also settlement around Kampuchea. As was stated by the U.S. secretary of state, Chinese officials convinced him that the People's Republic of China sells ballistic missiles only to Saudi Arabia, and to no other country.

Agreement Signed on 'Visa-Free' Travel

LD1507171488 Moscow TASS in English 1639 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 15 TASS—The signing of a Soviet-Chinese agreement on reciprocal visits of citizens of the two countries was signed today at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On behalf of the Soviet Government it was signed by Boris Chaplin, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, and on behalf of the People's Republic of China by Yu Hongliang, ambassador of China to the USSR.

The agreement envisages a visa-free regime for trips of the citizens who have diplomatic, official and ordinary passports, but travelling on business. The regime of border crossing during the exercise of direct economic relations between the border areas will be facilitated.

PRC Supports Soviet Disarmament Initiatives

LD1507095688 Moscow TASS in English 1608 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Beijing July 14 TASS—China supports all efforts and proposals aimed at relaxation of tension in Europe. This was stated at a briefing for Chinese and foreign journalists here today by a representative of the Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of China.

He commented on the new Soviet initiatives in the sphere of disarmament in Europe, which were advanced in the speech of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev at the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Military Situation, 'Extremist' Crimes

Soldiers Leave Feyzabad

PM1507144388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Thanks for Help"]

[Text] Kabul, 13 Jul—A farewell ceremony for homeward-bound military subunits of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops in Afghanistan was held in Badakhshan's capital, Feyzabad, yesterday. Najmuddin Kawiani, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, and local leaders and representatives of the population speaking at the rally fervently thanked the Soviet servicemen for their selfless international aid and wished them a successful return home.

Officers and men who had most distinguished themselves were presented with Afghan awards.

Soviet Responsibility Denied

LD1507161188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1450 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul, 15 Jul (TASS)—The "irreconcilable" opposition in Afghanistan committed new acts of terror today. A total of 21 rockets were fired at 4 regions of Kabul. The fire was spread in an undirected and scattered manner. According to preliminary information, 20 peaceful inhabitants were killed and 34 injured. One of the rockets exploded next to the Soviet Embassy building.

These terrorist acts are accompanied by a base and provocative campaign of rumors. Soviet forces are being accused of firing on Kabul, however ridiculous this is. All this is nothing other than criminal speculation on the sufferings of the ordinary people of Afghanistan, whose anger against the organizers of such firing and an attempt is being made to turn this anger against the Soviet Union, which is consistently supporting the policy of national reconciliation pursued by the Afghan leadership. The very assumption that the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops could fire on that very same Kabul which it is defending and where its command and the Embassy of the Soviet Union are located, is monstrous. Besides, a stamp was discovered on one of the unexploded rockets testifying to the fact that that rocket was produced in Egypt.

Rumors of this kind are also part of the variety of terrorist weapons in the hands of those who are sabotaging the Geneva agreements. Responsibility for the use of all these unseemly methods rests with the enemies of Afghanistan's national reconciliation and the enemies of the Afghan people.

'Vremya' Program on Situation

LD1507222988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 15 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video reportage from Afghanistan by M. Leshchinskiy and B. Romanenko]

[Text] [Leshchinskiy] The headquarters of the Limited Contingent of our troops in Afghanistan is a special place. Here beats nervously the pulse of the main Afghan roads. The central exchange receives information on the movement of truck convoys carrying a great variety of freight, as well as data on all incidents: the piratical attacks by terrorist groups. Constant liaison is maintained with the checkpoints and guard posts—and now, not only with the Soviet ones. On the roads leading south and east from Kabul, they have been replaced by Afghan troops. But the central exchange gives them assistance also.

Meanwhile, the situation on the routes remains tense. It is rare here to meet an unarmed person on the roadside. And incidentally, you don't by any means always know at whom the gun may be aimed. On the approaches, both near and far, to the main roads there are a great many armed antigovernment groups roaming about. They are often involved in clashes, with each other and with the regular units.

The guarding of many sections of the roads has been entrusted to the local defense forces. As a rule, these are men who quite recently decided to break with the armed opposition. That is true of the group of (Muhammad Amar), which recently belonged to the Islamic Society of Afghanistan. Its leader [word indistinct] says that of course the most important thing is not why these people have turned their guns in the opposite direction; the primary factor is that peace in this country should come closer.

Yet the opposition is strong and active. Colonel Babrak, deputy head of the Directorate of State Security of Kabul Province, told us that since the signing of the Geneva agreements the number of underground terrorist groups being brought in from Pakistan has considerably increased. Nothing is good enough for them in Peshawar. The whole task of this underground revolves around terror, brainwashing the population, spreading the notion that the Kabul regime is weak and must inevitably fall after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, and the idea that all who cooperate with the present authorities are doomed. Of course, many people are influenced by this. But, as can be seen even from today's reportage, by no means everyone is so influenced. [video shows scene inside control room at Soviet military headquarters in Kabul, with three men in army uniform speaking on telephones and another standing in background; map can be seen on wall. A hand moves pink tags on the map, along a road passing between Rabatak and Baglan. Soldier seen talking on telephone and writing in notebook. Video shifts to Afghan soldiers on armored carrier traveling along road through countryside, with helicopter in distance. Armed men seen on the roadside.]

Journalists See 'Evidence'

LD1607195188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1635 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul, 16 Jul (TASS)—Irrefutable evidence of the crimes carried out by opposition extremists against the civilian population was presented at a press conference held today in the Afghan capital. Journalists were shown photographs of the victims of the barbaric shellings of Kabul, among whom were women, children, and the elderly. Parts of the missiles with which the extremists shelled residential districts were also demonstrated. Lieutenant General Seyfullah [name as received], chief of the capital's People's Militia, reported to those present that in the period since 21 June, 124 ground-to-ground missiles have been launched on Kabul, killing and injuring dozens of civilians.

According to figures released by the Internal Affairs Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan, in the 2 months since the beginning of the Soviet troop withdrawal, the irreconcilable section of the opposition has sharply increased the number of its criminal actions. These armed sallies and acts of sabotage and terrorism have killed 448 people and injured over 500 others.

Rebel Activities Noted

LD1707171288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0940 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul, 17 Jul (TASS)—TASS correspondents O. Kuzmin and Yu. Tyssovskiy report: The major district center Khas Konar (eastern Afghan Province of Konarha) was once again fired on with heavy weapons on Saturday. Five people died at the hands of the extremists and several houses were destroyed. The escalation in the terrorist actions of the irreconcilable opposition, displayed particularly graphically in the missile and artillery shellings of populated areas, has made it necessary for the authorities to expand aid to the suffering population. In Kabul, in particular, a session was held yesterday of the emergency commission, whose tasks include assessing the damage and giving aid to the victims of the latest shellings of the capital. Immediately after the session the distribution of money, foodstuffs, and clothing among people who have lost relatives and property, began.

Meanwhile the extremist opposition is stepping up activities directed at destablizing the situation in Afghanistan. New groups of "the mujahidin" and large batches of weapons continue to come into the country from Pakistan in patent violation of the Geneva agreements. Thus a group of 100 fighters from a number of organizations within the "Alliance of Seven," that have been set the task of shelling state and military installations in the town and neighboring areas, have arrived in the Qandahar region. A unit of the "Hezb-e Eslami" operating to the southwest of Qandahar, has been supplied with a batch of weapons and ammunition from Pakistan territory including "booby trap" mines produced in the United States, which are intended for use in carrying out terrorist acts in the town itself and in the area of the airfield. Thanks to the efforts of the republic's security bodies many terrorists do not succeed in carrying out their intended crimes.

The other day a four-man group carrying arms was detained near Qandahar. Those arrested were also carrying a large quantity of antigovernment propaganda literature. Yet another "terror convoy" has been infiltrated into Vardak Province from Pakistan to supply the armed opposition with a large quantity of weapons, including recoilless arms, mine-layers, rocket missiles and ammunition. Two Arab military adviser have arrived with the convoy. Another armed "Hezb-e Eslami" detachment has arrived in Mikrbachakot [name as received] Major District near Kabul. Only recently it was based on Pakistani territory. A convoy of weapons consisting of 150 pack animals guarded by 100 men has also arrived in Takhar Province. Two new "Hezb-e Eslami" groups and a "Haraket-e Enqelab-e Eslami" detachment totalling 120 men have taken up position in Lowgar Province around the provincial center. Twenty vehicle-loads of weapons and ammunitions, some of which are intended for use in Kabul, have been transported from Pakistan to Lowgar. There is a concentration of gangs totalling 400 men there with a considerable quantity of explosives for sabotage and terrorist actions.

Attacks by antigovernment detachments on military posts and civilian settlements are leading to retaliatory strikes by the Afghan armed forces. An operation carried out in Achin Major District (Nangarhar Province) resulted in the elimination of 85 extremists. Reports of the death of Qari Ehsanollah, one of the opposition ringleaders in Nangarhar have been confirmed. In the last few days alone more than 200 rebels have been killed in the province, including as many as 10 commanders of individual groups. Several weapons stores and enemy fortifications have also been liquidated.

An operation has been carried out in the central part of Bamian Province, in the center of the country, to eliminate extremist gangs who have been terrorizing the local population. It is reported that 270 rebels have been killed alone. Weapons belonging to them, heavy arms included, have been seized.

Despite resistance from the irreconcilable opposition the process of national reconciliation is developing successfully in a number of areas of Afghanistan. Although some of the more extremist groups in Badakhshan are continuing their subversive activities, including activities directed against the Soviet unit being withdrawn from the province, many in the opposition have renounced armed confrontation. In particular, the reconciliation commissions have established contact with 49 opposition groups, 7,000 people have returned to their home villages from inaccessible areas, and the major districts of Ishqashim, Shugnan [names as received] and Vakhan and the district of Zebak have been declared peace zones. Five hundred families have come down from the mountains to inhabited settlements in Khuzhan [name as received] Major District. They have decided to help restore peace through joint effort. In Darvaz [name as received] a territorial regiment has been formed by local inhabitants and numbers as many as 1,600 fighters. Some armed groups have defected in their entirety to the side of the people's government. These include a 200-strong detachment led by Abdul Kuddus (Jorm Major District). A Badakhshan group consisting of over 1,000 oppositionists has adopted a neutral stance. As has already been reported, its commander, M. Jusuf, was recently in Kabul, where he held talks with government bodies and took part in a press conference.

Attacks Increase in Kabul

LD1707174888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 17 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report from Kabul by correspondent A. Shkirando—recorded]

[Text] Kabul has long been in the position of a frontline city. For over 9 years now, state establishments, schools, factories, and even bazaars have been targets for sabotage and for terrorist acts on the part of the Afghan extremists. The past 3 months have seen a sharp increase in the number of terrorist acts against the capital's inhabitants. The upshot is that in this period more than 100 people have been killed and many of Kabul's civilians have been wounded.

What do the Afghan extremists hope to achieve by shelling the city's residential areas? They are venting their anger at the failure of their plan to rout the armed forces of Afghanistan and seize a number of towns after the start of the withdrawal of our troops. Eighteen provinces are now without Soviet internationalist troops, but the die-hard extremists still have not succeeded in capturing a single town or a single major road. In an effort to conceal their impotence, they try to frighten the townsfolk by such acts of vandalism, and meanwhile ascribe the inhuman shelling to the Soviet troops. Unfortunately, even some of Kabul's inhabitants, blinded by their grief and suffering, yield to this sordid provocation. [video shows wrecked buildings and cars; peaceful street scenes]

In a televised address to the people of Afghanistan, President Najibullah has stated that the past months' shelling of the capital has been carried out by detachments of the armed opposition calling themselves the mujahidin using U.S., British, Egyptian, and Chinese manufactured rockets and mortar-bombs. [video shows film of Najibullah address]

At a news conference held yesterday, one of the rocket missiles fired at the Afghan capital on Friday that had not exploded was on show. As the markings demonstrate, it was manufactured in Egypt. This is one specific example of the hollow lie with which the extremists are attempting to befuddle the Afghans. [video shows news conference where the mangled rocket is held up for inspection; close up of what is said to be Egyptian marking]

Government Calls Holiday Truce

LD1807094288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0815 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul, 18 July (TASS)—An address by the Afghan president's office has been spread here on the occasion of the 'Id al-Adha Muslim festivities.

According to the document, the government has accepted the Supreme Islamic Consultative Council's proposal and decided to declare the celebration of 'Id al-Adha to be days of peace and truce among Afghans. All those still fighting against the legal authority may return to their cities and villages without weapons and celebrate the festive days together with their families. In this connection orders have been issued to relevant bodies to ensure the safety of such contacts.

The address contains an appeal to all Afghan Muslims to join in the implementation of the national reconciliation policy, which is in the interests of all Afghans.

Analyst on 'Fraternal Assistance' to Afghanistan

LD1507181988 Moscow TASS in English 1707 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 15 TASS—By TASS news analyst Valeriy Vavilov:

The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan began two months ago, as envisaged by the Geneva agreements on the political settlement of the situation relating to Afghanistan.

The Soviet internationalists came to Afghanistan at the request of its legitimate government with a noble mission of helping the Afghan people who have embarked on the road of social democratic transformation and elimination of medieval backwardness, feudal orders, poverty and diseases.

The troops were now returning home with a feeling of duty well performed. The time-table of their pull-out is strictly followed. Not a single Soviet soldier remains in 18 Afghan provinces.

On leaving Afghanistan, the Soviet military contingent hands over to the Afghan authorities immense material values. During the years of their deployment in Afghanistan, the troops have built and restored more than 80 schools, 25 hospitals, 26 kindergartens, 35 mosques and 325 residential houses.

Hundreds of kilometres of ditches and canals have been dug and bore-holes drilled to supply fresh water for the population.

This is an example of truly fraternal assistance—not only military protection for the people, but also a real labour contribution to the country's economic development and restoration of the war-ravaged economy.

The mass media in the United States and other Western countries are trying to present even this assistance as the USSR's military support for the Afghan Government. Referring to the far-fetched argument of "positive symmetry," Washington is seeking to justify its arms and munitions deliveries to armed opposition units by declaring through Secretary of State George Shultz its "right" to continue assistance to resistance as long as the Soviet Union continued assistance to the Kabul regime.

What "right" do the United States and Pakistan mean? And what invented "right" can be compared with the Soviet Union's right to help the legitimate Kabul government relying on the 67-year-long contractual and legal basis?

Neither Washington nor Kabul have such a legal basis, and their assistance to the armed opposition is a glaring violation of the letter and spirit of the Geneva agreements.

Is it not the right time to stop talking about "symmetry" and end interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign nation? This would undoubtedly facilitate the earliest political settlement and cessation of the fratricidal war.

As to the Soviet Union, it strictly abides by the pledges it has assumed. The stringent compliance with the troop withdrawal time-table is convincing evidence of that.

Weekly Interviews Amnestied Prisoner of War

PM1507110788 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Jul 88 p 9

[Unattributed report: "Important Not To Waste Time—So Thinks Former POW N. Ryzhkov"]

[Text] The LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Editorial Bureau has received official notification that Nikolay Anatolyevich Ryzhkov, born 1964, has been released from a hard-labor camp in Perm Oblast in accordance with the pardon issued 4 July 1988 by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. A former Soviet POW imprisoned in Afghanistan in 1983, he experienced all the "delights" of dushman dungeons, was subjected to massive brainwashing by the Western special services, and was taken to Europe and thence to the United States. It took him almost a year to explode the hypnotic fetters of U.S. propaganda, realize what was true and what was false, and go to the Soviet Embassy requesting to return.

His release now is no accident. As USSR Prosecutor General A.Ya. Sukharev stated last week, "all those who could not withstand enemy propaganda, torture, and the privations of imprisonment and committed illegal acts that harmed our state will be granted an amnesty on the basis of the highest ideals of socialist humanism."

This noble act by the Soviet state is a manifestation of its truly fatherly concern for those of its citizens who found themselves in most difficult circumstances. It simply cuts the ground from under the feet of those in the West who are trying in every possible way to impede the return home of Soviet servicemen. It is these people who for a number of years recently have been using the name of Nikolay Ryzhkov in the mass media and trying to make his arrest an instructive example to scare other prisoners so as to deprive them of their civic courage to return home despite their desire to take this resolute step.

Nikolay is fully aware of all the obstacles erected by the Western special services to prevent our countrymen returning home. Total psychological control, constant monitoring of all actions, and threats of being shot in the USSR were just some of the means of pressure brought to bear on him during his stay in Pakistan and the United States.

Our correspondents A. Korobov and V. Cherkesov met with Nikolay at the camp when the question of a pardon had not yet been discussed. In the conversation with them N.A. Ryzhkov said, in particular:

[Ryzhkov] Everyone wants to go home, of course. I can judge that from the people I have talked with. Here too a great deal depends on a person's character. For instance, when I went to the embassy I didn't care how long my sentence would be. I wasn't even scared of being shot. I just wanted to get home as soon as possible. I went of my own volition.

[Korobov/Cherkesov] You are serving a long sentence—12 years. What is your attitude to punishment?

[Ryzhkov] It is indeed a long sentence; but believe me, I have found things far easier in the camp than in alien America. The main thing is that I was at peace with myself. And I knew what I was letting myself in for. I sensed my guilt.

[Korobov/Cherkesov] Suppose you were released, what would you do?

[Ryzhkov] Quite honestly, I live in hope of that day. I know it will come sooner or later. And then everything will be alright. I am a trained machine operator and driver. In the camp I've learned to adjust machine tools. My parents are alive. They have their own house. At any rate, I'll still be young when I get out. I have my whole life ahead of me.

[Korobov/Cherkesov] Any message for those who still haven't returned?

[Ryzhkov] It's hard to wish them anything from here. They have to make up their own minds. But one thing, I think, is important—not to waste time. Not to waste time with the rest of their lives....

Iran Accepts UN Cease-Fire Resolution

LD1807162088 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Nicosia July 18 TASS—Today Iran announced its acceptance of Resolution 598 of the United Nations Security Council calling for a ceasefire on the Iran-Iraq front.

The Iranian news agency IRNA has reported that Iran's message delivered to U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar says that the Islamic Republic of Iran has accepted Resolution 598 dated July 20, 1987, in the interests of ensuring security and justice.

The document emphasizes Iran's support for the U.N. secretary-general's efforts aimed at finding peaceful ways to end the war.

Iraqi Successes, Iranian Retreat Reported

PM1607181188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Special correspondent V. Skosyrev "Reportage From the Iraq-Iran Front": "Fierce Fighting Again"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] While the UN Security Council in New York is discussing the tragedy of the Iranian airliner shot down by a U.S. missile, the fierce fighting on the land front between Iran and Iraq has not abated. Here is a report by our special correspondent, who has just visited the southern sector of the Iraq-Iran front.

Baghdad—For the journalists in Baghdad, the war consists, above all, of long hours of waiting. When there is a lull, this means waiting for news. And when hostilities increase, this means waiting for an opportunity to go to the front and see everything for yourself. A group of several dozen correspondents from different countries was in precisely this position when on the morning of 12 July, television announced a major offensive by Iraqi forces in the region of Al-Zubaydat, 360 km southeast of Baghdad.

In the middle of the day, we finally flew out in a military aircraft to a front-line airfield, and from there helicopters transferred us to one of the Iraqi Army posts. There was desert all around, as far as the eye could see. The post is well reinforced by a high embankment made of stones and sand, and the dugouts and observation point are covered with sandbags. Burning flares could be seen far off in the thickening dusk. The Iraqi soldiers explained that these were oil fields set on fire by retreating Iranian units. We are unable to officially confirm this information.

But then from conversations with soldiers (the conversations were spontaneous inasmuch as we journalists asked the first people we met), it is clear that the Iraqi Army's morale is fairly high. For example, a private called Husayn said that he had already been fighting for 2 years. Before being drafted he was studying psychology in college, and now, armed with a rifle, he was standing on the parapet on duty. The war, he said, was turning in Iraq's favor, and the day would soon come when all the Iraqi territory still under foreign occupation would be liberated.

Other servicemen with whom I happened to talk were also cheerful. Overall, this is understandable if you take into account the fact that in the last 4 months Iraq has, it seems, succeeded in seizing the initiative. Whereas in previous years, with the exception of the initial period of the war, Iran was able to make progress along a border stretching for 1,200 km, in a number of instances dozens of kilometers deep into Iraqi territory, it is now the Iraqi side that is on the attack. Here the liberation in April of the Al-Faw peninsula in the Persian Gulf is regarded as the greatest victory. This was followed by breaches in the Iranian defense on the two other fronts and finally, a few days ago, the fighting in Al-Zubaydat.

How did the operation develop? Late in the evening we were taken by car to the city of 'Amarah, the headquarters of the 4th Corps, where A. Muhsin, a member of the Armed Forces Main Command, held a news conference. The offensive, he said, continued for 4 hours. Four enemy divisions were routed, tens of thousands of Iranian soldiers were killed, and thousands were taken prisoner. Iraq liberated 140 square kilometers of its own land, and also "for technical reasons" advanced into a sector of Iranian territory 40 km deep and 100 km wide.

Muhsin stressed that Iraq has no territorial claims on Iran but intends to destroy artillery and other positions and eliminate supply depots. After fulfilling these tasks, the Iraqi forces will within a few days withdraw behind their state border.

We were unable to talk to the prisoners, but in Baghdad the Iranian version of events can only be judged by radio and news agency reports. REUTER reported statements made by Rafsanjani, acting commander in chief of the Iranian Army. He admitted that the Iranian forces had retreated in a number of regions, in places where "it was essential to make changes in the defense lines." Rafsanjani named the town of Halabjah in the north among the points abandoned by the Iranian forces. At the same time Tehran appealed to the population to send more volunteers to the front.

Iraqi Leader Urges Iran To Take 'Path of Peace'

LD1707181188 Moscow TASS in English 1601 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Baghdad July 17 TASS—Iraqi President Saddam Husayn made a speech here today on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of Iraq's national day.

He urged Tehran to take the path of peace and said that peace should be based on a complete and unconditional withdrawal of troops to the internationally recognised borders, an immediate exchange of war prisoners, the signing of a treaty on peace and non-aggression between Iraq and Iran, non-interference in the internal affairs and respect of each of the sides for the choice of the other.

Iraq and Iran should play a positive role in establishing stability and security in the Persian Gulf, President Husayn said.

He declared it was necessary to take into account Iraq's right to use the Shatt al-'Arab River on the basis of international regulations. Since Iraq is a Persian Gulf state, it has the right to freedom of navigation there and in the Strait of Hormuz as well.

UN Session Resumes on Gulf Airbus Incident

LD1507191788 Moscow TASS in English 1757 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] New York July 15 TASS—TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov reports:

A session of the U.N. Security Council was resumed here today. It discussed the tragedy in the Persian Gulf where a U.S. naval ship brought down an Iranian civilian airliner.

In the morning, ahead of the session 'Ali Akbar Velayati, minister of foreign affairs of Iran, said at a press conference that he expected the Security Council to denounce the actions of the United States and to take measures for preventing such tragedies in the future. He pointed out that "the U.S. Administration should fully admit its responsibility for what has happened. So far we ahve heard only profuse talk about 'self-defense' which is not satisfactory in any way".

According to 'Ali Akbar Velayati, Iran also seeks security in the Persian Gulf. However, it should be the security for all the countries of that region, and it should be ensured by those countries themselves. He said that Iran was ready to cooperate with littoral countries for ensuring security in the Persian Gulf.

'Ali Akbar Velayati rejected the idea of direct talks of Iran and the U.S. because the U.S. Administration had adopted a hostile stand with regard to Iran since the first days of the revolution there and had not changed it so far. The actions of the U.S. Navy that brought down an Iranian civilian airliner became a confirmation of that stand.

"We support yesterday's decision of the International Civil Aviation Organization to dispatch a commission for investigating all the details of the accident and believe that the setting up of this commission should be part of the Security Council's resolution on this issue", he said.

Touching upon the Iranian-Iraqi conflict, 'Ali Akbar Velayati pointed out that Iran supported a plan of the U.N. secretary general on its settlement and would continue its consultations with Perez de Cuellar.

Libyan Letter to UN

LD1607023088 Moscow TASS in English 2253 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] New York July 16 TASS—Libya is calling attention to the danger and threat posed to the safety of navigation in the Persian Gulf by the concentration of U.S. naval forces and the navies of its allies in that region, 'Ali Sunni Muntasir, charge d'affaires of Libya's permanent mission at the United Nations, said in his letter to the U.N. Security Council.

The shooting down of the Iranian airliner by the U.S. naval ship is a grave and inhuman crime, the letter said.

Muntasir expressed the hope that in the face of provocative actions, aimed at mounting tensions and expanding the theatre of military hostilities in the region, the U.N. Security Council would carry out in full its commitments to maintain peace and security and would exert every effort to ensure the withdrawal of the U.S. Navy from the Persian Gulf.

Further on Gromyko Speech at Gandhi Monument

PM1507104388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "To India's Great Son. Unveiling of Monument to Mahatma Gandhi in Moscow"]

[Excerpts] Thousands of Muscovites and guests of the capital gathered on the morning of 8 July at the intersection of Lomonosovskiy and Michurinskiy Prospects. The state flags of India and the Soviet Union were fluttering in the wind. Above the heads of those gathered were banners glorifying Soviet-Indian friendship and cooperation. A rally devoted to the unveiling of a monument to Mahatma Gandhi, the leader of the national liberation struggle of the Indian people, took place in a public garden located on this spot.

A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and President R. Venkataraman of India arrived at the scene.

The ceremony was attended by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom; P.K. Khabibullayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Yu.P. Voronov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Culture Department; V.G. Zakharov, USSR minister of culture; V.T. Saykin, chairman of the Moscow Gorispolkom; and other Soviet and Indian officials.

The rally was opened by L.N. Zaykov. He emphasized that the friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and India is an outstanding reality of our time. The monument to Mahatma Gandhi will be another symbol of this friendship, an expression of the sympathies and respect which the two great peoples have for each other.

R. Venkataraman and A.A. Gromyko were invited to cut the ribbon.

The cover slid away and the bronze statue of Mahatma Gandhi appeared before those present in its full glory. [passage omitted]

A.A. Gromyko addressed those present:

We are witnessing an important event during these minutes. A monument is being unveiled in Moscow to Mahatma Gandhi, whom India rightly glorifies as the "Father of the Nation."

He died at the hands of a despicable fanatic. This shocked the whole world at the time. However, Gandhi lives on today because he continues to be the spiritual leader of his people and because the minds and hearts of the citizens of his vast country are filled with his ideas. Mahatma Gandhi occupies pride of place in the pleiad of scientists who have absorbed all the best that there is in the country's many centuries of philosophical heritage.

For many years the great Indian people waged a battle for independence. During this struggle heroes rose from the depths and soared through the thorns to the stars. Their feats shine like a bright light, symbolizing service to the motherland—selfless, disinterested, devoted service. However, Mahatma Gandhi's name shines like the sun in the skies of India's national liberation movement. We know that "Mahatma" is not a proper name but a name given him by the people which translated means "great soul." It is beautiful for a nation to give such a name to one of its sons.

This outstanding thinker was clearly aware of the impact of the traditions and the powerful influence of Indian culture on the population of his motherland. Nevertheless, he also believed that all the people of the planet were bound by bonds of spiritual kinship. His aim was for mankind to acquire peace and rid itself of hatred and violence, while at the same time not abandoning its noble aspirations.

Mahatma Gandhi's ideas accord with the convictions and thoughts of the great Russian writer and humanist Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy. Gandhi's letters to Tolstoy reflect a spiritual quest and a great community of feelings between the two great men.

It is symbolic that the monument to Mahatma Gandhi in Moscow has been erected on the avenue which bears Lomonosov's name. Thus the glorious paths of the Russian scientific genius and India's great talent for deep thought have crossed here. The Soviet people are emphasizing in this manner that they treasure equally the assets of their own culture and the wealth of the Indian people's spirituality.

Soviet people also highly value Mahatma Gandhi for his respectful attitude to Lenin. The leader of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia became acquainted with Gandhi's works and he wrote about the "Indian Tolstoy," describing him as the inspirer and leader of the mass movement. The great Indian teacher described Vladimir Ilich as an "intellectual colossus" and stated that the example of selflessness set by Lenin and his comrades-in-arms would be famed through the centuries and would make their ideals even more pure and noble.

Mahatma Gandhi brought the ideas of nonviolence from the 19th to the 20th century and became their proponent and most consistent supporter and advocate. He regarded nonviolence as one of the cornerstones of international relations.

Under the influence of Gandhism, the tradition of nonviolence which was established in the Indian people's struggle against colonial rule became one of the fundamental principles of the foreign policy of the Republic of India.

We Soviet people frequently speak of the links between different eras, of the continuity of generations. It is in these terms that we view the points of contact between the past and the present, between the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi and the philosophy of the new political thinking.

After all, this philosophy also hinges on the renunciation of the use of force in relations between peoples and states. This approach was most clearly and fully expressed in the Delhi Declaration on the Principles of a Nuclear-Free and Nonviolent World which was signed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi in November 1986.

This document greatly exceeds the framework of Soviet-Indian relations. It provided an important stimulus for the restructuring of international relations.

We are unveiling the monument to Mahatma Gandhi in the immediate vicinity of the monument to Indira Gandhi, whose name was the same by coincidence but whose support for his ideas was by no means coincidental. Not far from here is also Jawahar Lal Nehru Square. In this way we have created a special and deeply significant corner of India in Moscow.

I would like to express the conviction that the monuments to a great son and daughter of India, located side by side here, will become permanent witnesses to an indestructible and fruitful Soviet-Indian friendship. And the monument to Mahatma Gandhi will remind Muscovites over and over again of the steadfastness and spiritual strength of a man who was modest in his life but a giant in history.

Let Mahatma Gandhi, cast in bronze and standing here on a pedestal in Moscow, constantly remind us of his dream for a bright future for all peoples. [passage omitted citing other speakers]

East Europe

Further Reportage on Gorbachev Visit to Poland

Warsaw Talks, Walkabouts

PM1507125588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jul 88 Second Edition pp 1, 3

[TASS report: "You Can't Help Loving Warsaw! Meetings in the Capital of People's Poland"]

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Jul—The CPSU Central Committee general secretary spent the 4th day of his official friendly visit to Poland in Warsaw.

Early in the morning, when the sun had only just illumined the spires of buildings in the Old City and peeped into the high windows of the Royal Castle, hundreds of Warsaw residents gathered here to greet M.S. Gorbachev, arriving here to meet with Polish and Soviet cultural and scientific figures.

A dramatized scene was played out at the castle entrance: The castle guard in ancient uniforms welcomed the guest. The chimes struck 1000 hours. Prof A. Gieysztor, the castle's chief custodian, led the guest through the halls and spoke about the history of the castle, which was razed by the fascists and rebuilt out of public donations.

The chief event of the day—the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's meeting with Polish and Soviet representatives of culture and science—left an indelible impression on Warsaw residents. During a live broadcast from the Royal Castle, television viewers saw for the first time the unique colors of the Yellow Room, the last to be restored by Warsaw masters.

To conclude the meeting Professor B. Suchodolski, chairman of the Polish National Culture Council, presented M.S. Gorbachev with a souvenir—an expertly executed bronze leaf. This is a symbol of spring, the scientist remarked, a symbol of your restructuring.

The assembled people warmly received the gift which M.S. Gorbachev gave to for the Royal Castle—a bronze mantle clock, the work of Petersburg craftsmen during the first half of the 19th century.

Then Soviet-Polish talks were held, and a joint Soviet-Polish statement on their results was signed.

On leaving the PZPR Central Committee building the Soviet and Polish leaders were surrounded by Warsaw residents. Once again there were the spontaneous conversations.

I wish to express great gratitude to all comrades on the Polish side for the idea, the concept of the visit, Mikhail Sergeyevich said, addressing the assembled people. It seems to me that the essence of this concept is that we have met this time at a new stage of our relations. Our concluding conversation has been about this just now. I will tell you that there was a common opinion that many urgent problems must be resolved without delay. This applies particularly to contacts among people, contacts among organizations, and exchanges of experience between our parties, parliaments, and public organizations. [Gorbachev ends]

W. Jaruzelski fully shared this assessment. I generally consider this a historic visit, he declared, but I wish to emphasize this time developing cooperation not only on the business side, but also the emotional and, simply, the human side. This is particularly important here in Poland, because our people are emotional. I think this is what has aroused in Polish souls such solidarity with Soviet restructuring and such a tremendous liking for the person of Mikhail Sergeyevich.

The chief task facing us now is to consolidate what we have accumulated during these days, W. Jaruzelski declared. I wish to repeat what I said during our talks: Great capital has been created, but this capital must work more actively. [Jaruzelski ends]

In the afternoon the Soviet and foreign journalists covering the general secretary's visit gathered at the press center and showed great interest in the substance of the talks held in Warsaw. The news conference was addressed by V.A. Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and J. Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

All 4 days of the visit, the CPSU Central Committee secretary emphasized, passed in close contact with Poles, citizens of the Polish People's Republic, and in dialogues and discussions. The meetings with workers, peasants, and people of different generations were very warm. Both interlocutors assessed the visit as an outstanding event in the history of Soviet-Polish relations and as a testimony to the closeness of the countries and peoples and to the open and interested nature of relations between them in recent years. Questions on the policy of Soviet restructuring and Polish socialist renewal, which are very consonant with each other, were at the forefront during all the meetings and talks with the Polish leaders. The visit was also of real international significance, since there was discussion on the relations between two major European states which play a very substantial role in the international arena, the CPSU Central Committee secretary said.

J. Czyrek emphasized that M.S. Gorbachev's visit has deepened still further the closeness of Soviet-Polish relations. But it also had special features: It was not only a party visit, for it assumed national significance. The entire Polish people, in the full sense of the word, welcomed the guest. [Czyrek ends]

As the strenuous day in Warsaw was drawing to a close, M.S. Gorbachev and his wife were accorded an opportunity to make up for the shortage of impressions from Warsaw's architectural beauties and the captivating charm of its parks and the Old City, and to stroll through Warsaw's narrow streets and feel in full measure over and over again the cordiality and hospitality of Warsaw residents.

"Warszawa da sie lubic!" ("You can't help loving Warsaw!")—the happy tune of this song seemed to accompany the general secretary during his familiarization with the city's sights. Here, just as in Krakow and Szczecin—everywhere the Soviet guests appeared—there was a sea of people, flags, shouts of greeting, and toasts.

A stroll through Lazienki Park... The memorial to the great Chopin, surrounded by weeping willows. A bouquet of fresh flowers was laid at its foot.

In the Citadel Fortress the general secretary viewed a permanent exhibition devoted to the Polish national liberation movement. Next on the itinerary was the Barbakan district of the Old City. On Nowomiejska Street M.S. Gorbachev and R.M. Gorbacheva were stopped by salesgirls and invited into a bookstore, where the guests were presented with a colorful album entitled "Warsaw." And a little further on, at the "Murzynek" Cafe, they were treated to a cup of fragrant coffee.

The way led down the twisting streets of Barbakan to the monument to the young rebel who has perpetuated the image of the children who took part in the 1944 Warsaw uprising. The general secretary laid flowers at the monument, paying tribute to the courage of the young Warsaw residents who fought so that folk songs might be heard in Warsaw's ancient square today.

Further on Warsaw Walkabout

LD1507131488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 14 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; unidentified correspondent's report over video]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev visited the Lazienki Park in Warsaw today. It is a palace and park complex, situated in the center of the Polish capital. [video shows views of park, then Gorbachev and Mrs Gorbacheva walking at the head of a group with a guide; Shevardnadze and Medvedev are seen to the back of the group]

In the Middle Ages, these were the hunting grounds of the Mazovian princes, and then it was a royal summer residence. At the time of the Hitlerite occupation, the inhabitants of Warsaw were forbidden to enter the Lazienki park. In the years of People's Poland, it has turned into a favorite leisure place for the people from Warsaw and all over Poland.

[Video shows Gorbachev and entourage walking through park, stopping to talk to a woman in a group of visitors]

[Correspondent] And again, cordial meetings.

[Raisa Gorbacheva] She grew up in the Soviet Union.

[Woman] In [words indistinct] Poland also gave me political asylum.

[Unidentified official] [video shows official acting as an interpreter] She was given refuge in Poland.

[Woman] Yes, (?25) years in the Soviet Union, and 12 years in Poland.

[Raisa Gorbacheva] Mikhail Sergeyevich, these are children of 1937.

[Gorbachev] Yes, yes.

[Woman] Children of the war, our war, our war, yes, we very...yes.

[Gorbachev] We remembered, we saw on film children being taken away from Spain in boats.

[Woman] Yes, I was 2 or 5 years old, and [words indistinct]. Thank you very much, for everything. Thank you. [Gorbachev signs a copy of his book and hands it to a person standing next to the woman]

[Raisa Gorbacheva] Thank you, too, for your courage.

[Gorbachev] Stand firm, stand firm.

[Raisa Gorbacheva] Stand firm. [video shows woman turning to leave, then being beckoned back by Raisa, who embraces her]

[Correspondent] The Citadel: this is the name given to the fortress installations built on the banks of the Vistula in Warsaw on the orders of Nicholas I in 1832-34. At the end of the 19th century and during the years of bourgeois Poland, prominent Polish revolutionaries and figures of the workers' movement were imprisoned and executed in the Warsaw Citadel. [video shows soldiers lined up outside Citadel; Gorbachev receiving a wreath from a soldier in an open square and carrying it through the square]

A wreath: a tribute to the memory of Polish fighters against tsarism and participants in the national liberation movement. [video shows Gorbachev and entourage leaving the complex and going over to meet the crowd outside]

[Official accompanying Gorbachev, gesturing to crowd] Veterans.

[Gorbachev, to crowd] I am glad to meet you at this sacred place. The director [words indistinct] reminded me of the sad history of this place—but, all the same, a place, too, which reminds one of a firm spirit and loyalty to lofty ideals. Poles who struggled for freedom and against tsarism laid down their lives here. And then the Russians who supported them ended up here. There are so many places where our best people lie together. (?The past) is a lesson for us and an appeal. Therefore, I am glad to see you here [words indistinct] and to shake hands with you. [video shows Gorbachev leaning forward to shake hands with assembled veterans]

[Interpreter, rendering the veterans' comments into Russian] We also wish you all the best. Health, first. Lots of health. Primarily, health.

[Correspondent] And this is already the Old City, Warsaw's old town. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is presented with a symbolic key to the gates of Warsaw.

[Gorbachev] I can see (?the meaning) here. There is (?a meaning) here. Thank you. Thank you. [video shows Gorbachev receiving large key in presentation box and shaking hands with official making presentation]

[Correspondent] Well, and now, a walk through the Old City. A monument has been put up by the walls of the Old City to a young insurgent, a hero of the Warsaw uprising against the Hitlerites: the Warsaw Gavroche, as it is called here. It is a tribute to the memory of the youngest Varsovians who perished in the struggle against the aggressors. [video shows Gorbachev and Raisa approaching statue of a child]

[Gorbachev, addressing children assembled nearby] Well, kids, how are you doing with your studies?

[Interpreter] Well.

[Raisa] Well!

[Gorbachev] What sort are you getting: fours of fives? What sort of marks are you getting?

[Interpreter] Yes, fives.

[Gorbachev] Well, those who are getting fours and fives raise your hands.

Well done! Well done! In that case, you can enjoy your rest! And give my greetings to your moms and dads. Okay? Okay?

[Correspondent] And then, on the square by the Royal Castle, Mikhail Sergeyevich was welcomed by inhabitants of the Polish capital for the umpteenth time in the last few days. [video shows the Gorbachevs walking through a street; general crowd scenes]

Variant Version of 14 Jul Speech

LD1507201388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 14 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; speech by CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev at 14 July meeting with cultural representatives at Warsaw Castle—recorded]

[Text] Our program, the program of the visit, has led us to this meeting, and I want to voice my own satisfaction with all those who are here with me—and I can see representatives, outstanding representatives, of our science, culture, and art who have found their way here. I think they, too, will join us in rejoicing over this meeting. We are sincerely pleased—and I say this not because I want to please you, as representatives of Polish culture—but I would just like to state one very important thought that has already become established in our country. I can see the writer Chingiz Aytmatov; he will help me recall that, when he invited many representatives and world figures of science and culture to meet, the so-called Issyk-Kul forum was held. I later conversed with those who participated in this forum.

We came to a joint conclusion: The world finds itself at a crucial stage in its development. This does not pertain just to our countries. It pertains to the whole world. If someone imagines something different—that the present changes have nothing to do with him—this is dishonest of him and does not match reality. Our whole civilization is going through a very crucial stage in its development. It can be said that the construction, the whole very complex construction, involving our civilization's material and spiritual spheres alike, is really being put to the test now. I am thinking here of the imperatives connected with the real threat of the nuclear annihilation of our civilization. I am thinking of the interconnection we now sense in all parts of the world. This requires greater responsibility by everyone. I am also thinking of the ecological threat and other global problems.

It was then that, observing that special stage, that crucial stage in the development of human civilization, the scientists and writers—and I shared their view—said that today you cannot deal in politics. But since there is a state, there are politics. Various interests are involved in politics in various ways, rightly or wrongly. They are varied and they are very serious. All in all, politics exist; we can never escape from the fact that domestic and international policys exist. Today, at this crucial stage in the development of our human history, if politics is not enriched through scientific knowledge and morality—and this necessarily presupposes participation by the intellectual resources of all nations, all peoples—then politics will be condemned to very serious vacillations and errors. Nothing is as expensive, and the people do not pay as much for anything as they do for political errors.

We could find many facts, both in Poland and the USSR, that bear out what I have said. In connection with this I think—and Comrade Jaruzelski feels the same—that people who have today been entrusted with a great deal now bear a great responsibility. We are aware of this, we are aware of and do not shirk the burden of this responsibility. I think Comrade Jaruzelski and I are happy about this meeting, because of the very fact of it and the fact that you and we have come to this hall. I was told, incidentally, that this hall is being inaugurated today, or as Professor Geysztor said, we are inaugurating it with this meeting, and this is magnificent. The fact that we are here together with you allows us to reflect on the times in which we live, on our countries, on what we are doing, and on how we regard the past and what lessons we derive from it, so as to be armed to change the present in the interest of the future we seek. This is natural. This is how I see this morning and I would like, on my own behalf, on behalf of the whole delegation and on behalf of Raisa Maksimovna, who is here, to greet you cordially, to greet Professor Suchodolski, who is in charge of this meeting, and all of you, dear comrades, who have come to this meeting. [applause]

It is very difficult, because I know we have little time and I would like to say a great deal. I do not know whether I will manage it. But what will be, will be. What I say will be sincere. This is what I would like to say, anyway. The main part of our visit to Poland is over. At this meeting with the Polish intelligentsia, with those who represent the national spirit, who vividly express the national spirit, the national interests, I would like to say that what is now taking place in Poland impressed us greatly.

Poland is again searching. It is seeking, and I think finding, an answer to the question of what road is to be followed henceforth by this large European state, with its great culture and history, a complicated history, and with its complex present.

I think that last night, when we met farmers on our way back in Szczecin voivodship, suddenly, in the very straightforward way found among ordinary people—who are the very foundation, as it were, on which any state of society stands—the following simple conversation produced the following reaction. When I was asked to describe briefly what we were doing in the Soviet Union and what the purpose was of all that we were doing, I replied that, putting it simply, we do want all people—especially the working people, since socialism is a system of the working people—to have a good life and to feel good in our socialist society. It is a system for the people. This received such a reaction that, as I was about to present further arguments, I realized there was no need for me to say anything more. That is the most important thing, that both in Soviet society and in socialist Poland people should feel good.

This, I think, is the greatest change that we are accomplishing through restructuring and socialist renewal, both in Poland and in the Soviet Union. We are opening up the natural, inherent as it were, deep-seated meaning, indeed the essence of this socialist system. We are giving it a human slant. It is the human dimension, the human criterion, that should represent the main criterion of achievements and, on the contrary, failures. So it happens that through restructuring, through renewal, we are moving toward humanizing our society. This is the most important thing, since all this later translates into everything else, into all other areas of life. A person who feels good every day is capable of many things. Our people, who for many centuries have been proving their love for their land—and we are proud of that, since the Russian and Soviet peoples' patriotism and that of the Polish people represent values in themselves, of enormous significance—the combination of this love, our people's affection for their fatherland, with the fact that we are opening up new possibilities for showing this national spirit and people's aspirations, may ensure that we make great breakthroughs in the spiritual and material spheres, in science and in everything.

Well, if one is in fact to reply on what we want now that we have embarked on the path of restructuring, then this is what we want. Everything seems simple. Most of all, we all want this to be accomplished as quickly as possible. Maybe those upon whom the responsibility rests today, and who have been given power by the people, want these successes to come about as soon as possible more than anything else. It would seem that it is the greatest and most natural desire of any politician that his efforts be successful, and to go down in history on the white steed of success.

But we must be realistic here. We are talking about the vast and very deep changes we have come through, and about the implementation of policies for which your people and our people have suffered. How many preparations we had to make for restructuring and renewal!

This we know. Those here who represent the intelligentsia of the Soviet Union and Poland especially know full well how difficult the road was that allowed us to draw up such plans regarding the immediate prospects for our people and states. That is why we should not just have a revolutionary attitude and be firm in implementing what we have conceived and outlined. We must also remain realistic so as not to become deluded. As we know from our experience, that is—and I say it again—the greatest danger. That is why we are so carefully studying and examining our past with a mercilessly critical attitude and with truth. This is not easy. It requires great courage. It sometimes seems that what we are finding out through this approach is leading us into a situation in which, at any moment, we might even be blown off course. Even so, on the basis of this mercilessly truthful analysis—and there is only one truth and, if we are talking about the past, it has already taken place; that is the way it is—we are emerging from that past without being weakened, with great achievements, historical achievements, in the Soviet Union and Poland. This, despite tragic events in our history that have greatly affected the whole process of socialist construction, the destiny of the people, and the fate of individuals, including the intelligentsia.

Nevertheless, it is instructive work. Perhaps it is a case of the lessons of the past making us stronger, more clever, wiser, more patient, and more tolerant. This arms us with new knowledge, and I must say that it strengthens our spirit. A person who has been weakened in spirit will not accomplish the tasks we have set ourselves. A moral improvement of society, of people, is taking place, and without moral health we will not manage those tasks. That is why perestroyka actually started with our deciding to understand what kind of house we were living in, what had happened before, what its foundations looked like, and the walls and all that was included in the house. A thorough reconstruction of the house we live in is needed, with reconstruction in all spheres, in the material, spiritual, and moral sphere, and in that of science and culture.

Precisely thanks to this we have come to perestroyka. Although we also had economic problems—and perhaps these prompted us at first to take proper care of the country and undertake perestroyka—we still gained a real understanding of our chosen objectives through great spiritual and intellectual work. Perhaps never before have relations been so close, and mutual understanding so deep, between the country's leadership and our intelligentsia.

This is no simple matter based on sugary speeches addressed to one another. No, it is a closeness that gives birth to trust. It is a closeness that has appeared through recognition of the goals and tasks that we are striving for. It is an understanding of the fact that neither the politicians nor the cultural forces in a country can fail to join together now for the sake of the nation's and people's interests. This helped us, I think, to choose the road. Basically, it coincides with your road of socialist renewal, and we have embarked on that road. But, you know, glasnost was necessary, as was openness.

We took a look. One of the lessons of the past tells us, as it turns out, that on more than one occasion very serious attempts were made, resulting from politicians' disquiet, the disquiet of generations, of other generations of our intelligentsia. But all those programs began and suddenly at some later stage disappeared. So the spark flew, as it were, but the bonfire did not catch fire; there was absolutely no question of a fire—a fire in the good sense, not so that everything burns down. We have had quite enough fires in our joint history.

It did not succeed, and do you know why? Because the plans were conceived and attempts were made to implement them without broad participation by both the intellectual forces of society and, particularly important, by those for whose sake it was all supposedly being done. It was thought that some circle of people expressed the people's interests and had a better idea of what the people needed. All that had to be put in its place. Man emerged at the focus of all the issues, of all our plans. Responsibility to him also emerged, particularly to such people as ours, which through their destiny and their actions—actions on a historical scale, and not just single acts—proved that they deserved to be reckoned with, they deserved to see life in our countries becoming different, becoming what the people needed and understood, corresponding to their vital interests.

Thus we have come to glasnost. Thus we have come to democracy. And I will tell you frankly, perhaps that is the most important discovery. The striking thing is that this discovery is made by Communists who had begun their struggle to destroy exploitation and all injusticies based on private property and exploitation, to destroy and wipe out man's alienation from the land, from the means of production, from spiritual values, from political processes. That, after all, is the driving force of all revolutionaries and that was from what we started the October revolution. We followed Lenin in order to solve our tasks. It only turns out that now we again have to bring back Lenin's interpretation, Lenin's approach, in order to fully restore man in socialist society to the material process, to make him the master there; to the political process, to make him the principal character; and in spiritual affairs, since it is his country and he needs the moral health of the society to be good.

However bitter that may be, that is how it is. And the most important thing is that we have firmly entered this road, and we are determined. That is the principal attitude in society, although there are other attitudes, let us not gloss over it. There is a struggle, a struggle in the form of discussions, political dialogues, confrontation of positions. There are no shots being heard. No shots ring out, but the struggle is serious, the struggle within the framework of socialist pluralism of opinions.

All this characterizes our life today. It is still full of troubles and anxieties, but we received a new impulse of confidence and new evidence of the people's support for our restructuring at the 19th party conference. It was an unprecedented conference, an unprecedented event. Practically nobody among the people living in the Soviet Union today remembers such a discussion as those that took place on its eve or in the conference itself. Finally, we felt for the first time how many things had gathered in our people, which they were ready and deemed necessary to tell each other, the government, and the whole world. This will require further reflections and thought, because it was an unprecedented event. But the main thing is clear to us: The people support restructuring, and resolutely at that. And the most resolute speeches in support of restructuring were made by representatives of the working class and peasantry, with a good amount of healthy criticism directed at the Central Committee, the government, and other authorities, including republican—I am looking at Comrade Sokolov—and ministerial—I am looking at Comrade Shevardnadze—and at the intelligentsia, among others. I will look at them too, and at the scientists, some of whom made speeches. I see here Comrade Fedorov, academician of our medical academy. And I can tell you that many of us felt awkward because we felt that we were lagging behind the people's moods and desires.

We have to act more resolutely, and that is the main conclusion from the conference. But one thing concerns us: That discussion should be transformed into actions, into real policies in actual practice. And that is why, already at the conference, right at the end of it, we passed a brief resolution that we would not wait for the congress, we would not wait for changes in the constitution. All that will happen, but now let us agree that what has been worked out at the conference must form the basis of the activities of the Central Committee, of the government, right down to the workplace. That is how that brief resolution arose. Now, without delay, we have scheduled a Central Committee plenum, which will be focusing on these very issues.

Over the last few days on Polish soil we have noticed that the very same troubles worry you, too. And as a result I feel, and I say this now with even more confidence, that we are following the same road, taking into consideration all specific circumstances, which is natural and understandable. It was a great mistake to ignore these specific circumstances. I think that at last the dispute, over what model of socialism is applicable where, is coming to an end. There is scientific socialism, and it must be applied in the concrete conditions of every country, taking into consideration the traditions, level of development, political culture, and potential of that country,. And that is my view of the models.

Nevertheless, acting independently, following the chosen road, we feel how much now we need each other. We need each other very much. We feel this perhaps as never before. And in the conversations with Comrade Jaruzelski, with other representatives of Poland, and in meetings with people, we find a great many interesting and very useful things for us now, when we are resolving new tasks, and are going to resolve them following the conference.

I hope that our experience will also be of some use, that it will at least provide stimuli for reflection and comparisons. This is very important. Therefore, I would like to say that perhaps now great opportunities are opening up for the construction of new relations between our peoples. I know the mood of our people. Over the last few days I felt the Poles' mood—they want to proceed toward one another with open hearts. I will tell you frankly, as would all my comrades: We did not expect such interest.

It is an interest which comes from the heart. You can bring a man out, in the end you can ask a man to come along somewhere or say something, and he will come along and say something out of respect for his leadership, traditions, hospitality, and so on. But you cannot change a man's face, his eyes, or the mood of his heart, which are evident and which you can see here as the process of communication taking place. Through this communication we sensed a great impulse in the people, the Poles, and perhaps that is the main thing that is now beginning to distinguish our relations. Before that, those relations were on the level of parties, governments, and republics, and now it is a movement of our peoples toward one another.

Let us remain at those positions that were always characteristic of the Russian, Polish, and Soviet intelligentsia: That attitude was characterized by a great attachment to their people and loyalty to serving that people. If there are such intentions, such strivings in our peoples, then our task, both in politics and in the spiritual field, is to promote it. I think it is important also from the viewpoint of us speaking here about two socialist states, neighboring states, states linked by a common history for centuries. Nor can we imagine a future other than living in friendship, fraternally, with the Polish people, and jointly resolving the tasks our times present us with. I invite you, dear friends, Poles, representatives of the Polish intelligentsia, and I invite our comrades, and through them the Soviet intelligentsia, to come to the assistance of our people, to help implement the goals, the great goals, the humanitarian goals, that we have formulated, having proposed the policy of restructuring to the Soviet Union and the policy of renewal to socialist Poland.

I am ready to repeat what I said to the young people at our meeting: There are trains—and here I am recalling Comrade Jaruzelski's expression—that one must not miss. We must be equally sure that the intelligentsia does not remain outside this train of restructuring and renewal. That would mean no lesser losses than in the case of the young people, perhaps even greater ones, since the way young people act and their positions depend to a great extent on your words, your actions. In our common history we have reached a time of very great actions, of crucial actions, lofty actions. I am not afraid to switch to a grandiloquent style here, since we are talking about a time which will decide our fates. Thank you. [applause]

Pasko Comments on Visit

LD1607193588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] The socialist world has entered the 5th decade of its existence. Moreover, it entered it as a mighty international formation, an active component part of the human civilization common to all mankind. The dynamic foreign political activity of the countries of the socialist community is directly linked with the strengthening of friendship and cooperation among them. This was convincingly manifested yet again in the course of the official friendly visit of Comrade Gorbachev to Poland. Vladmir Pasko comments:

It is the custom when summing up the results of visits like the one that has taken place in Poland, to first pick out the business-like part, the accords reached as a result of the summit meetings and conversations. Speaking of the visit that has just taken place, I would particularly like to stress its emotional aspect. Even here, at home, in front of the television screen, we felt how warmly the Poles welcomed the Soviet leader, whether at the factory, in the countryside, in front of a young audience, at a meeting with the intelligentsia, or simply in the streets.

We all know that one can ask a person to meet halfway, to come somewhere, to say something. He will come, he will say something, with respect for his leadership, tradition, and hospitality display. But one cannot get a person to change the expression on his face, the look in his eyes, his mood. And we sensed the mood of the Poles. The way in which they welcomed our leader is possibly the most important thing distinguishing Soviet-Polish relations today. The consonance of our restructuring and the Polish socialist revival imparts to those relations an even more interested nature, and this allows one to speak of the movement of our peoples to meet one another halfway, in a new, restructuring sense. This movement is at its very beginning, but it is occurring on all levels and in all directions. Political relations are developing and becoming more profound—economic relations, cooperation in ideology, science and culture.

One cannot fail to mark the special role played here by the declaration, signed a year ago, which has essentially become a long-term program of joint efforts by Poland and the Soviet Union in the spiritual sphere. The new climate in mutual relations has allowed us to start tackling the complicated problems of the so-called blank spots in the history of Russo-Polish and Soviet-Polish relations; this work is progressing. The accords just reached in Warsaw provide a new incentive to the movement toward one another. Take for example the practical measures outlined for the development of extensive contacts among people—the improvement of the visa-less and customs regime regarding trips by citizens of both countries, and making personal contacts among them easier.

We say that the future belongs to young people. Indeed, it is precisely young people who will have to make a contribution to forming new sociopolitical relations. This issue did not escape the attention of the Polish and Soviet leaders. It is envisaged that a document on cooperation between the young people of the two countries is soon to be signed. It will create fresh opportunities to broaden contacts among the younger generations.

The Polish and Soviet peoples' drawing closer together is becoming the cause of millions. The involvement in this process of representatives of all classes and social strata, nationalities and ethnic groups, people of different ages and professions, enriches the palette of mutual sympathies and contacts. It is quite clear that such a drawing together will place Soviet-Polish friendship on a broader foundation.

Latin America & Caribbean

Akhromeyev Ends Official Visit to Cuba

Seen Off by Castro

LD1607233088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2300 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Havana, 17 Jul (TASS)—The official friendly visit to Cuba by S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and first deputy defense minister, has ended. He was in Cuba at the invitation of Army General Raul Castro, minister of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces.

S.F. Akhromeyev was seen off at Jose Marti International Airport by R. Castro and other Cuban military commanders.

During the visit, Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev was received by Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Cuban Councils of State and Ministers. Questions of mutual interest were discussed at the meeting, which was held in an atmosphere of friendship and fraternity, characteristic of relations between the two states.

Arrives in Moscow

LD1707135688 Moscow TASS in English 1344 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 17 TASS—Marshal Akhromeyev, head of the Soviet Armed Forces General Staff and first deputy defence minister, returned to Moscow from Havana today.

Akhromeyev stayed on an official visit in the United States and on an official friendly visit in Cuba.

Nicaragua-U.S. Ties, 'Melton Plan' Discussed

PM1507143588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jul 88 Second Edition p 7

[Pavel Bogomolov "Viewpoint": "Intrigues of the 'Fifth Column'"]

[Text] Increasingly alarming reports are coming from Managua these days. Relations between revolutionary Nicaragua and the United States have become extremely heated—matters have reached the point where both countries have expelled the other's ambassador and a number of diplomats. The U.S. Senate has made it clear that even harsher sanctions are on the agenda: military as well as political.

Washington's attitude toward the Sandinist revolution which triumphed in Nicaragua 9 years ago has been hostile from the very outset, and in 1981 U.S. special services had already begun to arm groups of contras. Since then this "undeclared war" and the U.S. trade embargo against the republic have caused it direct and indirect losses in the region of $12.3 billion and taken 50,000 lives. In that case how can one explain the present, even more dramatic exacerbation of events?

Citing the "impoverishment of the contras" since the U.S. Congress refusal to continue to allocate military aid for the rebels, the White House, as we can see, has decided to shift the center of its anti-Nicaraguan intrigues into the heart of the republic and, what is more, the U.S. Embassy has become the headquarters of the antigovernment conspiracy. It has been instructed to greatly increase the counterrevolutionary "fifth column" and stir up with its own hands mass dissatisfaction with the authorities' policy. The plan was then to overthrow the legitimate government and replace it with some sort of "cabinet of national salvation" headed by Somoza's Colonel Bermudez! It has since become known that this ambitious program is called the "Melton plan"—named after the U.S. ambassador recently expelled from Nicaragua.

It must be admitted that the authors of the plan succeeded in some measure at least—they brought thousands of disoriented, morally and politically unstable people out into the streets. Palming off on its readers a false version of this negative phenomenon, the U.S.-financed newspaper LA PRENSA has reported "unprecedented repressions" by the revolutionary government which allegedly led to the current riots. But this is a deliberate lie—according to the most unbiased assessments of foreign observers, the republic is steadily following a course of national reconciliation in strict conformity with the Guatemala accords of 7 August last year. However, the democratization of social life has still not eased the everyday concerns of most Nicaraguans. There is a discrepancy between the accelerated pace of political reform and the slow pace at which serious social problems and the problems of protecting working people against inflation and increased living costs are being resolved. It is precisely this discrepancy that is being used by antipopular forces.

So what is actually preventing Nicaragua's revolutionary government from more rapidly making up lost time in the social sphere and more fully satisfying the needs of ordinary working people? It is prevented by those same reactionary groups that are the most vociferous in their accusations that the Sandinists are indifferent to their compatriots. By breaching time and again mutual accords with regard to ceasing offensive operations, the contras are simply forcing the republic to strengthen its defense. And the present conspiracy against the Sandinist revolution again confirms that these countermeasures are legitimate and necessary.

Sandinist Official Condemns U.S. 'Aggression'

LD1607152588 Moscow TASS in English 1048 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Buenos Aires July 16 TASS—"The U.S. Administration continues its efforts aimed at the elimination of the Nicaraguan revolution, and our people has been aware of this over the eight years that President Reagan is in office". This is how Omar Cabezas, national coordinator of the Sandinist Committees for Defence of the Revolution, summed up Washington's criminal policy with regard to sovereign Nicaragua. He arrived here at the invitation of the Argentine Committee of Solidarity With Latin American peoples to take part in the functions devoted to the ninth anniversary of the victory of the Sandinist revolution.

"As many as 50,000 Nicaraguans perished as a result of the U.S. aggression in the years that have passed since the victory of the revolution", Cabezas said at a news conference. "The damage amounting to five billion dollars has been inflicted on the national economy. War frustrates the revolution's plans for the development of the economy and it is with great effort that we can implement transformations in the area of education and health services. A huge state that is justly regarded as a major power is waging an open war in tiny Nicaragua".

The legendary hero of the Nicaraguan revolution emphasized that the Sandinist government had done a lot to overcome the explosive situation in Central America. It signed and fully observes the Guatemala accords, it made serious concessions agreeing, specifically, to direct talks with heads of counter-revolutionary groups. It is only Washington that is responsible for the fact that these talks have been frustrated. Matters went so far, Cabezas stressed, that the U.S. Embassy in Managua has become a centre for subversive activity of the right-wing opposition, while Ambassador Richard Melton personally participated constantly in provocative anti-government manifestations and various gatherings of reactionaries. This is why the decision on the expulsion from Nicaragua of that "diplomat" and several other staffers of the U.S. Embassy has been adopted. "We want least of all to sever diplomatic relations with the USA. What is more, we are ever ready to resume a dialogue with Washington. But we demand that a new U.S. ambassador observe at least the most fundamental norms of a diplomat's conduct. If he intends to follow in the footsteps of his predecessor, he will be expelled from Nicaragua in the same manner", Cabezas said.

Brazilian Communist Party Delegation Visits

PM1507153588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Ties Strengthen and Expand"]

[Text] A conversation took place 13 July between A.F. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and a delegation of the Brazilian Communist Party [BCP] headed by S. Malina, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee.

The Brazilian comrades described the activities of their party—which for many years operated clandestinely, only being completely legal from May 1985—and the Brazilian Communists' struggle under conditions of civilian rule to ensure that the process of democratization is irreversible and that a Constitution enshrining the changes that have occurred since the long years of military dictatorship is adopted. The BCP now sees its central task as creating a democratic and progressive bloc capable of really putting forward an alternative solution to the present socioeconomic crisis.

The BCP delegation was briefed on the results of the 19th all-union party conference. Attention was drawn to the CPSU's new approaches to international affairs, to major Soviet foreign policy initiatives, and to the practical steps being taken to develop ties and cooperation with other countries, including those in Latin America. The CPSU representatives noted with satisfaction the growing role being played by Brazil in the international arena and its desire to occupy a place in the world community worthy of the country's size, potential, and wealth of traditions. The great importance for Soviet-Brazilian relations of the upcoming visit to the USSR by Brazilian President Jose Sarney, the first ever such, was stressed.

The CPSU side confirmed its line of invariable solidarity with the struggle of communist and workers parties and all social forces for peace, social progress, freedom, and democracy.

The BCP delegation members stated that their party fervently welcomes the restructuring being carried out in the USSR designed to give a genuinely democratic and humane complexion to socialism. They stressed that the successful progress of restructuring will help renew the communist movement.

The CPSU and BCP delegations expressed themselves in favor of further developing and expanding ties between the two parties.

The following took part in the conversation: K.N. Brutents, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, and S. Morales, R. Frati, and P. Elisario, members of the BCP Central Committee Executive Committee.

Political & Social

Supreme Soviet Meets on Nagorno-Karabakh Issue

Session Opens

LD1807082788 Moscow TASS in English 0826 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 18 TASS—The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR opened a sitting on the issue of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region in the Kremlin at noon today.

As has already been reported, the regional governing council, the soviet of people's deputies, of Nagorno-Karabakh, which is part of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaijan, decided on July 12, 1988, to withdraw from Azerbaijan and become part of Armenia.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan, meeting on the same day to examine that decision in keeping with the constitution, found it illegitimate and nullified it.

The issue is now being discussed at the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. It will first hear reports by representatives of Armenia, Azerbaijan and the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region.

The members of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which includes representatives of all the Soviet constituent republics, are then expected to discuss the issue.

Gorbachev Attends

LD1807135888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 18 Jul 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium opened in the Kremlin today. Those taking part are examining the decisions made by the Supreme Soviets of the Armenian SSR and the Azerbaijani SSR on Nagorno-Karabakh. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is taking part in the session. Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko delivered introductory remarks, noting that the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh continues to intensify. The situation requires a profound understanding of its full complexity and an ability to rise above emotions and various kinds of insults in the name of the Soviet people's higher interests. The search for the correct decision should be conducted within the framework of the USSR Constitution, socialist values, and mutual respect for the views, traditions, and national dignity of all of the peoples.

Comrade Gromyko handed the floor to Comrade Voskanyan, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The next to speak was Comrade Tatliyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Comrade Pogosyan, first secretary of the party obkom of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, gave his opinion on the existing situation.

The following took part in the discussion: Comrade Orlov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman; Comrade Shcherbitskiy, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; Comrade Kamalidenov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Comrade Zaykov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, CPSU Central Committee secretary, and first secretary of Moscow Gorkom; Comrade Gilashvili, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Comrade Sokolov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee; Academician Basiv, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and director of the Lebedev Physics Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Comrade Nishanov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee; Academician Ambartsumyan, president of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences; and the writer Gamzatov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session continues. [video shows general view of the session, with Gorbachev seated in the second row behind Gromyko, who is in the chair; shots of each of the named speakers]

NKAO Part of Azerbaijan

LD1807163988 Moscow TASS in English 1625 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 18 TASS—The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (Parliament) of the USSR today reaffirmed Nagorno-Karabakh as belonging to Azerbaijan.

At the same time it made provision for measures that would ensure the region's real autonomy as well as unconditional fulfilment of a comprehensive program for its social, economic and cultural development, which has been adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government.

Those decisions were taken unanimously after the Presidium heard statements by representatives of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh and discussed them in detail.

A speech at the meeting was delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Gorbachev Delivers Speech

LD1807151088 Moscow TASS in English 1503 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 18 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke today a session of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet which is discussing the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh.

He said this is a question of great political importance, the problem of All-Union magnitude. We all are vitally interested in such a matter being tackled calmly. Reciprocal steps are needed, he said.

Further on Unrest in Armenia, Azerbaijan Regions

Azerbaijani Refugees Resettle

NC1807073488 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] The Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers commission concerned with the situation of Azerbaijanis who have temporarily moved from the Armenian SSR to the Azerbaijan SSR is very busy. Telephones do not stop ringing, even for a moment. People are met on their arrival, and many problems are effectively resolved on the spot. Work is carried out in a timely manner. Actually, work starts at 0800 and continues until midnight.

The [words indistinct] deem it their patriotic and humanitarian duty to help each and every family and individual who is in great difficulty, give full and clear replies to questions, and refute rumors and fabrications through [word indistinct] facts. Press organs have reported that the complex and strained situation in the Armenian SSR has caused a mass exodus of Azerbaijanis. There are about 30,000 individuals, that is about 4,000 families, in our republic. More than 500 individuals arrived in the Azerbaijan SSR on 11 July (?at the receiving centers). Each and every one of them is waiting patiently to relate his or her problems. Their eyes, which have [words indistinct], are reddened by tears.

The problem is serious and must be addressed. These people have left their places of birth and the homes of their fathers [words indistinct]

In the accounts they have given to an AZERINFORM correspondent, the refugees have said they are prepared to return to their homes, provided assurance is given regarding the safety of their families and children. They said: Yes, we are not [words indistinct] the Armenian people, but we have to consider why the people who have been [words indistinct] are now turning away and not greeting us. [passage indistinct] A number of them have resorted to strike action and behaved meanly. How long will this state of affairs continue? [Words indistinct] Is it not time to end lawlessness and provocations?

The members of the commission have disclosed that the Azerbaijanis arriving from the Armenian SSR have been resettled in 43 rayons and cities in Azerbaijan. There is not a single refugee in even a single rayon in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Help is provided to the individuals who have suffered losses. [Words indistinct] the transport vehicles that carry refugees to the cities and rayons depart on time. Many families have been resettled in guesthouses, boardinghouses, general education and vocational training schools, and school dormitories. Local residents have accommodated many families in their own homes. Special committees have been set up in all the rayons that have received refugees from the Armenian SSR. Zonal committees have been set up in a number of rayons, assigned with the task of resettling the refugees from the Armenian SSR and helping them select the places they wish to stay temporarily.

However, work opportunities in Azerbaijan are insufficient. Nor are there enough housing facilities. A large number of problems have accrued. Everything is being done to facilitate people's return to their homes.

Regardless of how well the refugees are received, and irrespective of the favorable conditions created for them, nothing can replace their homes.

(?We hope that) the tense situation will be temporary. The friendship and brotherhood of the Soviet peoples is the greatest achievement of the October Revolution. The Soviet peoples have been through Hell and fire in the past and have resolved major problems through solidarity. We wish to believe that the fraternal relations between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples will not be disrupted by incidents; emotions will not obscure reason; and peace and public order will reign.

Soldiers Interviewed In Armenia

LD1507142088 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1958 GMT on 14 July 1988 carries an unscheduled 25-minute feature entitled "On the Events in Yerevan" presented by Boris Baryshnikov, which examines the events of 4-5 July in Yerevan and at Zvartnots Airport. The film includes shots of battered army trucks and interviews with injured soldiers who explain how they received their injuries. The various soldiers and officers are identified by caption.

The film opens with shots of a large pile of weapons—knives, axes, chains, and spikes. An officer cadet explains where they came from: "We ourselves confiscated them from civilians who were proceeding toward the airport, after public order was restored." When asked whether this was after or during the restoration of order, the soldier replies: "There are articles here that were found at the airport during and after the restoration or order". Baryshnikov goes on to ask: "Were these weapons actually used?" To which the reply is: "Yes." A

Captain Sinyavskiy says that 94 shields used by the soldiers were smashed. One of the soldiers knows of three of his comrades who were injured by these weapons.

Baryshnikov points out to the group of cadets and officers that the army gave no warning that it was about to restore order, and that the people should leave the airport. This is categorically denied. Warnings were given on more than one occasion, but the warnings were received by a hail of bottles and stones. A junior sergeant relates how, when the order was given to clear the airport, troublemakers urged women to throw bottles at the troops. "And did you use means?" Baryshnikov asks. "Means of defense," the junior sergeant replies.

"The whole city is saying that you used your nightsticks with abandon," Baryshnikov says.

"No, quite the reverse," the junior sergeant repeats, "by and large we used our shields. The nightsticks were used in defense when we were attacked with a spear like that, let's say." Here he points at the ground, but we do not see the spear. Women and children were not harmed, he says.

It is put to Captain Ponamarenko that only a little more than 3 minutes elapsed between the time the soldiers formed up outside the airport and the time they burst in. He maintains that people were warned to clear the airport on several occasions.

Major Sulkovskiy reads the text of the announcement that was read from the very outset to those gathered in the airport:

"Citizens of the city of Yerevan, your actions bear an anticonstitutional and unlawful nature. On behalf of the leadership of the republic, we request you to leave the territory of the airport and the adjacent regions. Display good sense. Disperse peacefully and go back to the city."

Baryshnikov puts it to the group of officers and cadets that an excess of violence was used. This was rejected. Another allegation is that their eyes and expressions suggested they were using drugs. This, too, is rejected—it was hot and they had not slept, they say.

Baryshnikov asks the group of soldiers about another allegation, that while the strike committee had brought in food for the stranded passengers, the soldiers had not offered to share their hot food with anyone. This allegation causes some amusement, and one of the soldiers explains that all they had to eat was their dry rations. They offered passengers the use of army trucks to get them to town, but they were prevented from getting through by people lying in front of them barring their way. They say that they offered their water canteens to women for them to give their children.

An officer says: "We heard words of gratitude toward the evening of that day, the 5th. The passengers thanked us, they thanked the cadets for getting the airport working and allowing their children to fly out."

A cadet then says: "We were surprised at the actions of these hooligan elements; we were even shaken. My personal attitude to the Armenian people remains what it was before. Before the airport action our detachment was serving in the rayon center of Masis Rayon. I want to say that the Armenian people received us very warmly and provided us with great services. Well, I will say that we were pleased to serve there. After the airport action, of course, attitudes to us changed, but I consider that they have changed only because the extremist elements are working very hard among the population, and I think they are succeeding."

Then another cadet says: "What I'd like to say about relations between us and the Armenian people is that starting from Sumgait, we were posted in Sumgait, carrying out the same task as here. This is what it was like: in Sumgait we were defending persons of Armenian nationality from the hooligan elements of young people there who were brawling in the city. People came to us and we passed them on. There were even Azerbaijani men who brought Armenians, they had been guarding them, brought them to us, and we sent them on to the proper places. There you have it. And what interests me is why those people whom we rescued, so to speak, when they came here to Yerevan, why are they not telling people here, but are keeping quiet about it? And people here are listening to some sort of extremists who are going on the rampage, blackshirts, as they say here—people are listening to the sort of rumors they are putting around about us, and there is now a completely different attitude toward us. Now we cannot talk to people, little children are throwing stones at us. I think that not all the people think of us like this, and that the majority of people correctly understand what we are and why we are here, and will not listen to all the rumors from those who are spreading bad rumors."

In film shot in a hospital, Captain Mangolenko describes how his car was surrounded and he was forced out. The windshield was broken and the group started beating him up. He describes how two middle-aged Armenians saved him. "They dragged me out of that fight and helped me get to the militia post, which, incidentally, was just across the road." Baryshnikov suggests: "Presumably, they could have seen from there what was happening?" "Of course they could see," the captain replies.

Several other injured soldiers are shown. One claims the whole airport affair was "a provocation, a well-organized provocation. There were photographers there who specially took photos." Finally, Baryshnikov offers the following comment on the events reported:

"Here is an essential postscript to what we have just shown: You will agree, one can understand the feelings of protest and indignation of the soldiers and officers who suffered during the events at Zvartnots Airport. But they also understand the difference between the extremist, hooligan groups and the absolute majority of the Armenian people for whom they expressed feelings of respect.

"Only one thing is incomprehensible—why is there such tolerance here for inciters and hooligans? After all, it is they who by their provocations have cast a shadow on the whole Armenian people. After all, the occupation of Zvartnots Airport—this is the view even of many Yerevan people with whom I spoke—was the greatest provocation. But if that is so, why did they allow it to happen? Why did hundreds of thousands of participants in the meeting in the town on 5 July allow, as witnesses allege, some sort of semi-mythical Arthur with a group of henchmen to lead off over 1,000 people to the airport and provoke disorders there in which several thousand people finally took part?

"Another thing strikes one: on the same day, on the streets and squares groups of provocateurs were driving about unhindered with placards whose sinister meaning is obvious. Look at these photographs. I admit: We who witnessed this were literally choked with indignation." Here the video shows a photograph of placards with the words "Shame on the murderers of peaceful people at the airport" and "Glasnost, democracy, fascism."

Baryshnikov continues: "Well, I will also add that it has not been easy for our film crew in the past days. Hooligan groups have threatened us, have tried to break our equipment, have disrupted the filming. And all this was done by people who shouted in our faces words about glasnost and democracy, proclaiming themselves champions of the popular movement. It is painful to talk about all this. But one would like to think that the Armenian people itself will be able to rebuff those who are hampering the restoration of order and calm in the republic."

The film ends with a credit reading "main editorial office of information of Central Television".

Arutyunyan Urges 'Patriotism'

NC1507185388 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Various production enterprises in Yerevan and the republic are enduring very difficult times. [Words indistinct] Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee, in a speech on Armenian television. We call on our people's reason and ask them to display true prudence, patriotism, high consciousness, [word indistinct] (?within the interest of each and every person) in Armenia. We are living through extremely difficult times. We should do everything to normalize life (?in all aspects) and to (?place) our republic in the country's rhythm of reconstruction and thus secure the future, all-encompassing prosperity of the Armenian SSR. Many are those who face doubts today. (?To whose benefit) are the strikes? What are they offering the republic and the people? Finally, (?it is worthy to note) that apart from greatly harming the economy, the strikes are inflicting great moral harm [words indistinct] on our people.

Yerevan 'Beginning To Stabilize'

LD1507165788 Moscow Domehstic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Excerpt] We will now tell you about the situation in Armenia and Azerbaijan. In Yerevan, the situation is beginning to stabilize. The wave of strikes is abating, albeit slowly. Today, of the city's 226 industrial enterprises 8 are at a standstill, our correspondent Aryun Khumaryan was told at the Yerevan Gorkom. Of 124,000 workers, 34,090 did not go to work on the first shift. At 132 industrial enterprises the rhythm of work has been fully restored. Both Yerevan airports are working on schedule, as is urban above-ground transport and the metro. Meetings are continuing at the Matandaran building. The speakers are calling for strikes to continue until 18 July, when the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is to begin work in Moscow to examine the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. [passage omitted]

Other Cities Affected by Strike

PM1607135988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jul 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Conveyor Belt Halted"]

[Text] Kaliningrad, 15 Jul—The main conveyor belt at the Kaliningrad Experimental Technological Laser and Arc Welding Equipment Plant has come to a halt. The reason for the disruption lies in the nondelivery of components from strikebound Armenian enterprises.

The direct losses suffered by the Kaliningrad economically accountable collective alone already run to R250,000. But losses are even higher among their customers, who have not received finished products from the plant on time. For instance, the Kaliningrad workers cannot dispatch incomplete welding units for agro-industrial complex repair enterprises.

"Of course, we are not indifferent to the Nagorno-Karabakh problem," A. Kirichenko, leader of an assembly workers' team, said, "However, striking is an unacceptable way of solving it. After all, the losses caused by the stoppages at Armenian and NKAO enterprises are borne by labor collectives."

Official on Airport Incident

LD1507181588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1645 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Yerevan, 15 Jul (TASS)—The situation in the Armenian capital, brought about as a result of the events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh, remains tense. At a number of enterprises people are failing to turn up for work, or else they are working, but not at full complement. Public transport timetables are being disrupted. In the mornings, before the sun gets very hot, and toward evening, when the heat diminishes somewhat, many people assemble for rallies outside the Matandaran ancient manuscript institute. The protesters are demanding a solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast issue and calling for the strike to be continued. Over the past few days various views have been put forward concerning the gross violation of the law and public order, amounting to the actual seizure of Zvartnots Airport by a provoked crowd.

A TASS has correspondent interviewed A. Nikolayev, a senior assistant to the USSR procurator general and a second-rank state adviser on justice, who heads a group of investigators who have come to Yerevan to inquire into the events at the airport.

"What happened at the airport on 4 and 5 July, and how does the procuracy view that exceptional occurrence?"

"Let us be frank. First of all, the provocative acts of the extremists blocked off Zvartnots Airport, which is of great national economic importance, and in which thousands of indignant passengers found themselves in extremely difficult circumstances due to the blockade and the cancellation of flights. A favorable situation was created for the actions of hooligan elements. It has to be stated, with regret, that local bodies, working people, and the public in the capital did not forestall that outburst and took no immediate measures to curtail the violations of the law. Naturally, the intervention of the forces of law and order was required to lift the blockade of the airport and to eject the hooligans.

"It is pointless to look for high motives in the actions of those who started to throw stones, bottles, and sticks at the servicemen; break windows; and vandalize the airport. These were the premeditated acts of hooligans, the acts of criminals, with all the consequences that follow from that fact. Criminal elements hurried to the airport so as to cause massive disorder. After their acts had been brought to an end, it is not by chance that in many of the cars in which they had arrived, sawn-off guns and weapons other than firearms were found. We came across piles of stones, debris, and broken glass at the scene of the incident. That is the sad reality. Now, several days later, law-enforcement bodies are still confiscating weapons. Arrests have been made."

"How many people suffered during the clash at the airport"?

"One person suffered grievous bodily harm, four received less serious injuries, and dozens were slightly injured. There were far more calls on medical institutions, but frequently those seeking assistance gave false names and addresses, which undoubtedly complicates the investigation. Grievous bodily harm was inflicted on a number of servicemen who were honorably performing their duty. I have to say that, here and in other areas of the republic, shocking attacks were perpetrated against servicemen who were providing help and assistance in ensuring public order and security.

"I wish to emphasize that citizens are obliged to do everything possible to preserve the honor and dignity of Soviet people, whether they are factory workers, office staff, or servicemen in the Soviet Army."

"How do you evaluate the item from Yerevan entitled, Objectivity Is Needed, which was published on 13 July in the newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA?"

"You evidently mean the part of the article that said that, at a rally, an appeal was made to young people to regard themselves as having left the Komsomol if Komsomol bodies do not provide an assessment of the actions of Komsomol members among the public-order forces at Zvartnots Airport."

"In the past, as a Komsomol member, and now as a party member who has passed through the great school of life I consider such a proposal irresponsible. One cannot give in to emotions and apply pressure on the investigatory bodies. Were I a KOMSOMOLAKAYA PRAVDA correspondent, I would not approach the reporting of opinions in such a one-sided manner but would mention another opinion of young people, that under present conditions we have to make every effort to ensure calm and public order, to restore the normal labor rhythm of production, and to give a resolute rebuff to provocative statements and calls of all kinds. If one listens to those who are speaking, one still hears a lot of calls for strikes being made at meetings. These are irresponsible calls. We have to rely on the sober voices.

"Considerable material and moral damage is being done to our society by the strikes. Everything in the Soviet economy is interlinked, and when enterprises in Armenia stand idle it seriously complicates the situation at other enterprises, which work in conjunction with them in different regions of the country."

"How do they act in other countries in situations similar to that at Zvartnots?"

"They are given the most resolute rebuttal, because transport, as is known, is of enormous importance for economic life and the normal functioning of society. Attempts, therefore, to violate the normal work of transport and civil aviation give rise to universal condemnation and are cut short. Moreover, in many countries the holding even of organized demonstrations, meetings, and marches of all kinds is prohibited on pain of liability under the administrative and criminal codes in order not to disrupt transport."

"I have heard that apologies were allegedly made during an interview for the public order forces having exceeded their authority in countering the airport seizure."

"I know about these rumors, but there were no reasons or grounds for apologies. I have before me a document of a different sort—an appeal from a large group of passengers who are profoundly indignant over the disturbances kicked up by the hooligans at the airport and over the material and moral loss caused to them.

"I am also aware of something else: Telegrams and letters have begun to arrive in various offices concerning mass reprisals and murders of civilians that have allegedly occurred. This is a malicious distortion of reality aimed at inflaming passions and arousing hostility toward servicemen who are fulfilling their constitutional duty."

"What were the circumstances surrounding the injury of 22-year-old Kh. Zakharyan, who died in the hospital? Has the investigation into this case ended?"

"As is known, the death of Kh. Zakharyan has no direct bearing on the clearing of the airport. It all happened in a completely different place, on the Echmiadzin Highway. An investigation is now proceeding into all the circumstances surrounding the incident. Incidentally, to judge by the content of an article published the other day in IZVESTIYA under the heading, Yerevan, 12 July, the death of Zakharyan is being linked with the events in the airport and with the actions of the public order forces. This is a distortion of the truth which misleads the public.

"As for Comrade Pogosyan, he died of a heart attack on 4 July in the vicinity of the airport. It has emerged that Pogosyan suffered from a serious heart condition, had had a severe heart attack not long before, and was receiving hospital treatment.

"The actions of those who submitted to the calls of provocateurs and took part in the blockade of Zvartnots Airport and in illegal acts against its staff, passengers, and the law-and-order forces are coming in for increasing public condemnation."

NKAO Situation 'Complicated'

LD1507181488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 15 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh remains complicated. In the oblast center, the enterprises and organizations are closed again today. There are rumors among the Armenian population of Stepanakert of hooliganism by persons of Azerbaijani nationality in the town of Shusha. On the day following the declaration that Nagorno-Karabakh was separating from the Azerbaijan SSR, our correspondents visited Shusha:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Shusha is a stone's throw from Stepanakert—a mere 11 km. But when the decision was made in Stepanakert to unilaterally secede from the Azerbaijan SSR, it was as if an invisible hand had created a gulf between the neighboring towns. Stepanakert buses no longer run to Shusha. The oblast newspapers are no longer delivered there, in spite of all the requests by the Shusha party raykom. And in Stepanakert, rumors are flying that Shusha, a town with a predominantly Azerbaijani population, is not a safe place. And not only for persons of Armenian origin.

And now we see Shusha. [video shows views of Susha] The rayon party aktiv has just called on the Communists and the whole population to maintain discipline and to be aware of what is going on. In the town, all is quiet. All the enterprises are working. I emphasize that, all—with the exception of those that are being let down by their colleagues and suppliers in Stepanakert. But one also feels that the people of Shusha are on their guard. It is not an easy time. [passage omitted on interview with Shusha sanatorium worker]

Shusha has one of our country's best-known sanatoriums. It is less full than usual at present. The events in Nagorno-Karabakh have caused the more cautious vacationers to stay away. But those who do not believe the rumors have come. And they don't regret it. They have formed their own independent picture of the real state of affairs in the town. Here in the sanatorium in Shusha we met with several vacationers from various parts of our country. [video shows correspondent speaking to a group of people]

[Correspondent] Do you go out and walk in the town?

[Unidentified woman] Yes, I do.

[Correspondent] And have you been in any danger?

[Woman] No, absolutely none. The people are very friendly. If you ask them anything, they answer. I believe that there has been nothing—I have seen no unrest of any kind in the town.

[Second unidentified woman] The same. I have been in the town myself many times and saw nothing amiss.

[Unidentified man] It is the same with me. We have all been going around together, and there has been nothing.

[Second unidentified man] [Words indistinct] Yes, (?we have been) walking around too, and everything was normal. Nobody interfered with us, and we didn't interfere with anyone either. Everything has been normal.

[Correspondent] Well, in Stepanakert I hear that in Shusha it is not safe to be on the streets these days—that people of Armenian sympathies are being beaten up. Have you seen any crowd that was behaving in that way?

[Unidentified woman] No, not once did I see that. I never saw a crowd at all—not once.

[Correspondent] Any insults? Has anyone of Armenian nationality come up to you or said anything to you?

[Woman] No, nothing like that.

[Man] No, nothing. [video shows people being interviewed] [end recording]

Stepanakert at 'Standstill'

LD1507174388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Report by "special correspondent" Pavel Guskov in Stepanakert]

[Text] For several days now everything in the town has been, to a certain extent, the same as before. As before, enterprises are at a standstill, and there are difficulties with food. As before, prices at the market are going up, and people with goods still are not going there. What is the reason for this tension, this constant suspicion that is being manifested? It is hard to answer this question. But one thing is clear: Those who can, those who should help remove this tension far from always remember their duty.

On 15 July the Nagorno-Karabakh newspaper printed a report on a conference of the Stepanakert Gorkom. The newspaper directly states—and I permit myself to read aloud the end of this report on the conference at the gorkom—Will the people of Stepanakert be going to work tomorrow? No precise, concrete answer was given to this question at the conference. One thing is evident: People are continuing to play a waiting game. The people of Karabakh hope that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium will have an understanding attitude toward the decision of the Nagorno-Karabakh Soviet of People's Deputies and will endorse it at the forthcoming session. This refers to the declared secession of Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan; and the newspaper ends like this, firmly and most categorically: And in this case, the question of whether to work or not will be decided of itself.

I cannot say that everyone who lives here holds this opinion. I do not mean only individuals of Azerbaijani nationality. The events in Nagorno-Karabakh have been going on for several months already—for 5 months—and, of course, the many tragic events that have occurred in that time have left their mark. But if the tragedy of Sumgait is constantly recalled, then what went before it should also be recalled.

Obviously, thought must be given to the question of why, in many towns and villages of Nagorno-Karabakh, the desire is not being expressed, and I am talking about an initiative by officials, to establish contacts with individuals of Azerbaijani nationality. Why have rumors—what would appear to be unexpected rumors—suddenly started to arise, dangerous rumors? This morning it became known that a murder took place. Two women and one man died, and a child was seriously injured. What was behind this murder? Who carried it out? It emerged that the murderer, Grant Adamyan, was the husband of one of the women.

Rally Urges Return to Work

AU1807071388 Paris AFP in English 0006 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, July 18 (AFP)—An estimated 300,000 Armenians meeting in Yerevan, capital of the Soviet Republic of Armenia, voted on Sunday to accept a call for a return to work after a two-week strike in support of their territorial demands.

Vazgen Manukyan, one of the 11 members of the organising committee, said by telephone that a new mass-meeting had been called for Tuesday evening, one day after the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, or parliament, in Moscow has debated the demands.

The strikers have been demanding that Nagorno-Karabakh, a mainly Armenian district which is part of the neighbouring republic of Azerbaijan, be joined to Armenia.

Mr. Manukyan, a member of the Karabakh Committee, said a meeting had only been called on Tuesday evening so as to "avoid taking decisions under the sway of emotions" in the likely event that the Presidium turned down the territorial demand.

The strike leader predicted that at best the Moscow meeting would only "make promises to set up committees" over the issue, or else it might propose to let Nagorno-Karabakh become an "autonomous republic," but still within Azerbaijan.

He said that such a decision would certainly not satisfy Armenians. The Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh has been on strike over the demands for some two months, and was not concerned by the decision of the Yerevan meeting.

Mr. Manukyan said he feared that the Presidium would purely and simply reject the Armenian demand. He noted that official Soviet media had strengthened their condemnation of the Armenian position in recent weeks.

On Tuesday the regional parliament of Nagorno-Karabakh voted to secede from Azerbaijan, but the republic's leadership said that such a vote was unconstitutional.

Mr. Manukyan said Sunday's meeting had not taken a decision on a possible resumption of the strike in Armenia, but had tried to take measures to prevent strikers from being victimized when they returned to their entreprises.

The strikers were demanding new union elections in enterprises so as to prevent victimization, he said.

The strike leader said the success of the public rallies on both Saturday and Sunday showed that the movement had mass support.

He noted that people had come to the rallies despite widespread rumours of possible clashes with the army, which had sent reinforcements to the region in recent days.

Armenian sources said the meeting of the Presidium, which would be attended by Communist Party leader Mikhail Gorbachev, was due to start on Monday morning.

Meeting Decides To End Strike

PM1807091188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jul 88 Second Edition p 8

[Report by special correspondents S. Oganyan and A. Sarkisyan under the "Urgently for the Issue" rubric: "Meeting in Yerevan"]

[Text] Yerevan—One of the most crowded meetings in recent days was held in Yerevan on Saturday. It decided to end the strike. Monday 18 July should be a working day everywhere.

What has happened? People's anxiety has been mounting with every passing day. Throughout these 5 tense months people here have tried not to allow illegal actions, but there have nonetheless been disruptions. The people have condemned these irresponsible actions and reached the conclusions that strikes are not a method and that you will not achieve a lot through pressure on the state organs. The result will be rather the reverse.

The restructuring and democratization of society have shaken people's political inertia and revived in them social activeness and a sense of justice. But many unsophisticated people have displayed haste and have disregarded democratic forms of achieving the set goal. That is why the actions of those who by their "striking" mood have damaged the economy of the republic and country deserve unconditional condemnation.

That was the argument of those taking part in the meeting who made this constructive decision. The Karabakh theme was not the only one at the meeting. The corruption of part of the republic's leadership, protectionism, the secrecy in promoting cadres, which have largely been the cause of the creation of the present atmosphere of social uncertainty—all these obstacles of the recent past must be dismantled together.

Further on Airport Incident

PM1707174588 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jul 88 p 4

[Own correspondent A. Sarkisyan dispatch: "Yerevan: The Rumors and Reality"]

[Text] Yerevan—There are many visitors at the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent's office in Yerevan these days. They discuss the newspaper's reports on events in the republic. The main demand is that we should write more and that we should not embellish anything.

We decided to go and talk to servicemen who were injured 4-5 July and continue to receive treatment at the military hospital. Lieutenant Colonel of the Medical Service R.B. Pogosyan, chief of the medical unit told us:

In connection with the events at "Zvartnots" Airport, seven servicemen were brought here. Three of them were injured while trying to force out the demonstrators from the airport building, the four others, who are doing their military service in Armenia, were attacked by the agitated crowd which was returning from the airport.

Cadets A. Aleksandrov and O. Lysenko from the Ordzhonikidze Red Banner USSR Ministry of Interior Higher Military Academy told us in conversation:

We were given the task of forcing the people, who behaved like hooligans, out of the airport building after they had refused to leave the building despite repeated warnings. As we entered the building and led out the women, we were pelted with kefir [fermented milk] bottles. Subsequently we were forced to curb the turmoil. The rumors circulating in the city do not reflect the real state of affairs, they do not reflect the essence of the events that have taken place in Yerevan.

During the rallies at the Matenadaran building, appeals continue to be made to hand in Komsomol cards as a sign of protest against the actions of the public law and order enforcement forces.

It has emerged, G. Israelyan, first secretary of the Yerevan Komsomol Gorkom, said, that among the cards collected by the organizers of this campaign there are cards dating back to before the war, including Komsomol cards belonging to convicted people or people who have lost contact with the Komsomol long ago. As for the Komsomol members who have handed in valid cards, we will, as soon as the cards reach the Komsomol committees, discuss the question of their membership in the ranks of the Komsomol with them. According to information supplied by the Yerevan State Motor Vehicle Inspection, 12 of the 450 drivers who violated public order 5-6 July are Komsomol members and their cases will be considered soon. Each of them will be subjected to a principled assessment.

The situation in the city as a whole does not differ from previous days.

While some city dwellers may be still asleep, these kolkhoz members are already around to dispatch the first bunch of crates with apricots to the base. The beginning and the end of the working day here is determined by the sun, people work from dawn to dusk. There is no need to explain the Russian proverb "Make hay while the sun shines" to Rubik Abramyan and his team. This is why they are working at the moment without taking a day off, and as for the idea of joining the strike, it never even entered their minds. Their minds are full of other concerns. They are working out how to bring in this year's good crop of apricots and tomatoes. And as for the early potato harvest, it exceeded the plan in Masisskiy Rayon where their "Dzhraovit" Kolkhoz is located.

The kolkhoz is not very far from Yerevan. Therefore news from the capital reaches here on the same day. And the news is that there are enterprises that are still standing idle.

Why does the idea of a strike seem absurd here, why is there no one here willing to support the city dwellers? It is because it is simply inconceivable for them to leave the crops in the fields and not to milk the cows....

Yerevan Paper on Situation

PM1807103588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 Jul 88 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report under the "Stop Press" rubric: "From Our Latest Mailbag: Appeal to Common Sense"—boldface italics passage as published]

[Text] ***The newspaper KOMMUNIST, organ of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, published yesterday an editorial article entitled "A Resolute Breakthrough Is Needed." It says in part:***

Citizens in a socialist society not only enjoy broad rights but also have major obligations to the people. It is of course possible to understand those who wish to find an opportunity to solve complex problems as quickly possible, including the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. But such problems can be correctly solved only given extensive and thoughtful examination in a businesslike atmosphere and on the basis of current legislation and the USSR Constitution.

Life shows convincingly that there are quite a few democratic methods in our society today enabling people to express their opinions, uphold them, and achieve their goals. A convincing example of such an approach was set by the thousands-strong collective of the "Polivinilatsetat" Production Association. Its workers expressed their considered and substantiated attitude toward the Nagorno-Karabakh problem and the tragic events in Sumgait, but resolutely rejected the strike calls. All this time the association's production lines have been working at full capacity and the collective has been punctiliously meeting its contract commitments to its partners, maintaining the high reputation of Yerevan and the republic throughout the country.

Let us be frank, many people still lack this sort of perception, while party organizations are in no hurry to demolish the dogmatic stereotypes prevailing in people's awareness and behavior. They have proved insufficiently prepared for the fact that, in the course of implementing restructuring and economic and political reform, labor collectives are given not only rights but also obligations and a lofty responsibility for the moral climate, for the awareness, active life, and stance of everyone.

It is no longer enough to just assert: This is how things developed. It is necessary to draw serious conclusions as to why party committee members and the numerically strong party and ideological aktiv proved unprepared to conduct a principled dialogue with people, why they retreated and gave in to the not especially literate demagogues. Why was it that a considerable number of workers and specialists with party membership cards in their pockets were in the ranks of those who succumbed to strike calls and other undemocratic actions.

After all, the truth is harsh: Wherever the fighters for restructuring retreated or faltered, its overt and covert opponents immediately took a step forward. It is they who are interested in hindering our society's advance to a qualitatively new level of socialist renewal and preventing the assertion of truly democratic principles and broad public monitoring in all spheres of life. Underhand "black economy" dealers, corrupt functionaries, speculators, and careerists always benefit in an atmosphere of nonspiritual development, uncontrolled emotions, and noisy rallies. After all, it is easier for them to remain afloat in the shadows of disorder and to preserve their customary strictly selfish privileges and opportunities.

The nervous and malicious reaction by the antirestructuring forces is understandable. But how come we all failed to respond to it? How come despite our people's historical experience and their spiritual traditions, intellectual capacity, and wisdom, we allowed the blatant and uninhibited maltreatment of names that are dear to us and disregard for the respectful attitude toward elders of which our people have always been proud and which provided the basis for building the continuity between generations?!

Army patrols are once again out in Yerevan's streets. They came out in the wake of the tragic events at Zvartnots Airport which taught us all a harsh lesson. It is, after all, understandable: The clashes could have been avoided if our party aktiv, our intelligentsia had firmly stood in the way of excited people who had been deliberately directed to disorganize the airport's operations for provocative purposes.

The purpose of the street patrols today is to consolidate order, and it is our Soviet boys, our sons who are serving this order. The Armenian people have always nurtured profound love for the beloved army, for the soldiers and officers of the Soviet state's Armed Forces. We have developed a good tradition of friendly relations with military garrisons stationed in the republic's territory. Now, just as always, the soldier, the serviceman is the welcome guest of any Armenian family.

We are living at a time of profound analysis of our origins, a time of decisive transformations in our entire life. Our time demands a thoughtful approach toward the development of political culture, democratic practice, glasnost, and responsibility. This is a most complex matter, and it is therefore very important to ensure that it is firmly headed by Communists. Communists and party organizations today do not and cannot have any task that is more serious than this one.

Armenian Party Conference

PM1807093588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jul 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report under the rubric "Stop Press": "A Resolute Breakthrough Is Needed"]

[Text] Yerevan, 16 Jul—In the situation that has developed these days in Armenia, the leadership of the republic is taking measures to prevent a further worsening of the crisis and achieve a decisive breakthrough in the present situation.

On 15 July a conference was held at the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia to examine the question of the situation in the republic and urgent measures to normalize it. It was stated at the conference that strikes are continuing at many enterprises in Yerevan and some other towns in the republic. This has meant that the country has failed to receive tens of millions of rubles' worth of industrial goods. According to preliminary estimates, consumers have not received from the enterprises of Armenia more than 500 machine tools, tens of thousands of electric motors, accessories amounting to more than R15 million, and consumer goods wirth more than R25 million.

Strikes are creating a difficult financial situation at enterprises that are not operating. For example, as a result of the failure to fulfill contract obligations, the enterprises Armelectromash, Zakavkazkabel, Armavto, Electropribor, the Yerevan tire factory, and certain others have to pay fines totalling over R8 million.

The republic's construction complex has also suffered great economic loss—R20 million. According to the data of the State Statistics Committee of Armenia, on average over 25,000 people daily are not going to work there. The regular operation of transportation, especially passenger transportation, has still not been achieved in Yerevan.

At the meeting, party, local soviet, and economic leaders of many towns and regions of Armenia were seriously reproached for careless attitudes and sometimes even irresponsibility in the extreme situation that has emerged. It was stated frankly that a united front to counter antisocial manifestations has, unfortunately, still not been established.

But only through joint, vigorous action is it possible to stabilize the situation. It is particularly essential to resolutely stop all provocations, the spreading of rumors, and calls for strikes. There was a serious talk about the fact that unlawful trends are beginning to predominate at meetings and demonstrations, inciting appeals are ringing out, and leaflets with the same contents are appearing. Many people, though not approving of the actions of the irresponsible people, cannot find in themselves the civic courage to openly oppose the antisocial deeds and are giving in to blackmailers and instigators, who are only aggravating the crisis.

The organs of the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs and procuracy, who frequently treat the violators of law and order in a conciliatory manner, were subjected to sharp criticism. At the meeting the importance was particularly stressed of party and local soviet bodies, and of every Communist profoundly realizing the seriousness of what is occurring. There was also discussion of members of the party who are not adopting an active stance and in effect are heightening tension through their actions. It is time to bring such Communists strictly to account.

This principled line of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia is supported in the republic party organizations. For example, the Yerevan Gorkom Buro of the Armenian Communist Party has expelled from the party the organizer of extramural work at Yerevan School No. 183, A.G. Manucharyan, for not carrying out the CPSU Charter as manifested in continuing calls for strikes despite the decisions made on this issue by the party bodies.

For displaying political immaturity and for inciting strikes and disorder leading to mass absenteeism from work, the party buro of the Abovyan Raykom has expelled from the CPSU V.G. Yengibaryan, manager of the culture and sports complex at one of the city's enterprises.

Restructuring will not accept halfheartedness, it gives a precise and clear assessment of everything. Today's supporters of restructuring are those who are responsibly working at their work place. Those who continue to perform their work duties despite strike calls include the collectives of Yerevan's "Polivinilatsetat" Production Association (director V.V. Dayan, party committee Secretary A.S. Khachatryan), the S. Shaumyan Leather Goods Production Association (M.A. Petrosyan, I.A Asaturyan), the "Armbytkhim" Production Association (I.D. Khachatryan, G.V. Babayan), and the Kirovakan sewn goods production association (R.Ye. Mkhitaryan, F.Kh. Gevorkyan).

Young people are taking part in maintaining law and order in Yerevan. Komsomol patrols are on duty in the capital's streets. A normal situation prevailed in the town this afternoon.

Stepanakert Public 'Exhausted'

LD1607014688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0104 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Stepanakert, Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast—Industrial enterprises are still not working; public and freight road transport is standing idle; many institutions are closed. Over 130 railroad cars awaiting unloading have accumulated at the railroad station. Even containers of foodstuffs are not being moved from there; there are over 300 of them at the station now.

A tragedy took place in the town yesterday. Grant Adamyan, for reasons which are now being investigated, murdered his wife and two relatives. He seriously wounded his sister-in-law's 2-year-old child and also tried to kill his own son. All of these persons, including the murderer, are Armenians by nationality. The rapid action of the investigative organs helped to quickly establish the identity of the murderer, who had previously twice been found guilty of hooliganism and causing grievous bodily harm. Energetic measures to find him have been taken. The relevant information was broadcast on local television.

The Stepanakert public is exhausted by the situation that has arisen. Weddings and family celebrations have been forgotten. The number of illnesses caused by excessive nervous stress has increased.

NKAO 'Becoming More Tense'

LD1607122888 Moscow TASS in English 1152 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Stepanakert July 16 TASS—The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region is becoming more tense with the approach of July 18, the day when a meeting of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR is to be held.

Industrial enterprises, transport, offices are not functioning. Problems of supplying the population of Stepanakert with food are becoming worse. But at the railway station there are hundreds of unloaded containers with foodstuffs.

Since traffic on transport routes linking the autonomous region with other parts of the republic has been destabilised, difficulties have arisen with supplying livestock with concentrated fodder.

Field work in the region continues. But the situation in the city is having a negative effect also on harvesting work. Thus, grain crops are yet to be harvested on quite a few fields in a number of farms.

Adamyan, who killed three relatives yesterday, was arrested today and an investigation is being pursued.

TASS correspondents learned from Major General V. Safonov, who is in command of the military units that are maintaining public order in the region, that several firearms are confiscated every day from people of Armenian and Azerbaijani nationality. [Moscow TASS in English at 1358 GMT on 16 July transmits a service message amending the above sentence as follows: "...correspondents learned from the command of the military..." (deleting commander's name)]

Homemade Weapons Discovered

LD1607163988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 16 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] Armenian law enforcement agencies have plenty to worry about. An investigation group from the USSR Procurator's office working in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is, among other things, investigating a criminal case concerning the manufacture of homemade weapons. [video shows collection of knives, guns displayed on a table] The makers of these articles are as yet unknown. They were all made in the same place—in a Stepanakert electronics factory.

[Begin recording] [Bibishev; identified by screen caption as V.F. Bibishev, of General Directorate of Criminal Investigation, USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs] What is particularly dangerous is that these weapons could have fallen into the hands of any criminal element, or extremists, with consequences which may be imagined. Two workers at the enterprise, (Khachaturyan) and (Danilyan), are charged with manufacturing them.

[Correspondent] But the sanction chosen by the procurator's office is a ban on travel.

[Bibishev] Why was that decision made? It was based first on the characters of (Danilyan) and (Khachaturyan), who work at the enterprise in question. One of them has a 1-month-old child, the other, elderly parents. Before they made these weapons, they had been well-regarded by everyone; in view of this the procurator's office decided to alter their punishment to a ban on travel.

[Correspondent] The investigation has yet to establish how it was possible for weapons to be made in a tool shop. It is fortunate that they were never used, that they were discovered in time. It is terrible to think of the possible consequences. Let me add that according to the Main Directorate of Criminal Investigation of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, arms are also being found in the possession of Azerbaijanis. [end recording]

Stepanakert Workers Interviewed

LD1607215188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 16 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; P. Guskov report from Stepanakert—recorded]

[Text] In the mornings there are a lot of people around the newspaper kiosks. They snap up the central, regional, and Yerevan newspapers. On Friday, 15 July, the regional newspaper SOVETSKIY KARABAKH, in a report on a conference at the Stepanakert Gorkom, wrote that the question of working or not working would resolve itself if the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium approves the secession of Nagorno-Karabakh from the Azerbaijan SSR. And Zaven Mushegovich Movsesyan, the gorkom first secretary committed a crude attack on the newspaper IZVESTIYA, which, on 12 July, printed an article by its special correspondent on attachment in Stepanakert. A few days ago the newspaper NAGORNO-KARABAKH published an authoritative piece of advice—not to give interviews to correspondents of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. It turns out that one or two people are following this advice. We came to realize this at the railway freight depot in Stepanakert. [video shows people standing in the streets reading newspapers; video then moves to the freight depot; two men are walking away in the distance as a correspondent approaches]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] There he is, walking away! The second one's walking away on the right! He wouldn't let him give an interview. And here's a comrade who thinks all this is (?all right).

[Unidentified man] I've already loaded this freight car.

[Correspondent] You've already loaded it? So you've done your work?

[Man] I always do my work! It's you who doesn't do your work! You ask him!

[Correspondent] Tell Me. Do you read the newspaper SOVETSKIY KARABAKH?

[Man] I read everything. I read your newspapers, too. I read TRUD, and you aren't right...

[Correspondent, interrupting] Tell me, please, have you read the newspaper SOVETSKIY KARABAKH? A material [words indistinct] forbidding giving interviews to Central Television. Did you read this?

[Man] It was not like that with Central Television, but we don't give interviews to people like you!

[Correspondent] So! Glasnost and democracy is being established here! By people who say that they aren't being allowed to tell the truth! [video shows people watching this encounter; video moves to show people working in various parts of the freight depot]

Not everyone is giving in to this pressure. More than 150 freight cars have still to be unloaded here. They contain consumer goods and construction materials, which are so necessary to the autonomous oblast. There is also imported equipment here. The conscience of the real workers—Armenians and Azerbaijanis—refuses to allow such valuables to be wasted. [video moves to a freight car, where a few men are standing] Flour is being unloaded here. Let's get to know the people who are working here. Excuse me, who are you unloading the flour for?

[First man] For the bakery.

[Correspondent] Which bakery?

[First man] Bakery No 16.

[Correspondent] Tell me, please, what is your nationality?

[First man] Azerbaijani.

[Second man] Armenian, Armenian.

[Third man] Azerbaijani.

[Correspondent] You're working together? In harmony?

[Second man] Yes, yes, we always work together, we are friends.

[Correspondent] Tell me, what is your name?

[Men] [Names indistinct]

[Correspondent] You're all friends?

[First man] Yes, we always work together. When our town was on strike, our bakery worked all the time.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much. Now here's the opinion of another man who is working.

[Man] I am an Azerbaijani, [name indistinct]. I live in the city of Stepanakert. I work on the railroad, with freight and luggage. Many work here at the station. Two months passed without unloading freight cars, but we unloaded those with food products and construction parts. But others, freight cars [words indistinct]. We have, for example, a freight car we took off—it has stood at (Mineralnyye vody) since the 30th.

[Correspondent] On the squares of Stepanakert you can hear this expression: The people of Nagorno-Karabakh: Do you think badly of all Armenians?

[Man] No. Why? We live with them in friendship. We share our bread. We have no disagreement. From that day, from 13 February, when they begin. [sentence as heard] After then, everything is a shambles. They say democracy and glasnost. Glasnost is needed first, and democracy, if there is to be restructuring, but first of all, work is necessary, work.

[Correspondent] Would you say it's the people who are currently at the head of this movement? Do you think they are the cause?

[Man] Of course, the people who [words indistinct]. But a worker—what must he do? A worker, workers, will always stand with workers.

[Correspondent] Thank you. [end recording]

Troop Reinforcements Arrive

AU1707141188 Paris AFP in English 1113 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, July 17 (AFP)—Large numbers of military aircraft landed in Yerevan early Sunday amid rumours that troops were reinforced around the Armenian capital and in barracks near the Armenian-Turkish border, residents reported.

Tensions were running high over the weekend as Yerevan residents reported that troops had been reinforced in the streets of the Armenian capital, while helicopters flew overhead.

There were rumors that city hospitals had been urged to clear beds.

Armenian nationalists earlier urged strikers at a meeting in Yerevan to return to work.

The call to suspend the strike came as a reaction to a scheduled meeting of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Soviet Union's collective leadership, on Armenians' grievances to be held here Monday, eyewitnesses said in a telephone conversation.

A witness said the estimated 300,000 Armenians who attended the rally Saturday did not adopt a resolution to end the strike, which has paralyzed Yerevan for seven weeks, but agreed to decide on the issue at another meeting late Sunday.

Several members were expelled from the Communist Party of Armenia for supporting the strike, according to Soviet television.

One of the expelled members, Achot Manucharyan, received a standing ovation from the mass-meeting in Yerevan, the witness said.

The strike was called to press Armenian demands for the secession of the predominantly Armenian enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan, which borders Armenia.

Armenian activists interviewed by telephone said they feared the situation in Yerevan was getting out of control after Soviet television showed Armenian protests and clashes with police.

Public transport in the city of one million residents was reduced to a minimum early Sunday.

Troops were also reinforced earlier last week in Nagorno-Karabakh whose deputies voted for the region's transfer from Azerbaijan to Armenia on Tuesday.

Yerevan's strike committee told demonstrators Saturday that Moscow had met an Armenian demand not to stage the trial of suspects in an anti-Armenian massacre in Azerbaijan.

Proceedings will now be transferred to the Russian republic.

According to official figures, 32 people were killed in inter-ethnic rioting in the Azerbaijani city of Sumgait in late February.

'Deceptive Calm' in Yerevan

LD1707205488 Moscow TASS in English 2030 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Yerevan July 17 TASS—A deceptive calm in Yerevan in daytime is replaced in the evenings by stormy meetings called by the "Karabakh" Committee. At these meetings they make irresponsible calls for replacing with "their own people" party leaders and economic managers who declare for a reasonable and calm solution of the problems that have accumulated in the republic.

In this situation the sound forces led by the republican party organization firmly uphold the constructive programme of actions aimed at the earliest normalisation of life in Armenia.

"A tense situation in Yerevan and continued strikes at a number of industrial enterprises suggest the conclusion that there is no time to lose," First Secretary of the Yerevan City Committee of the Party M.S. Minasbekyan said today.

"In the days of strikes the republic has lost some 70 million roubles," he said on local television. "The population of Yerevan will not receive some 400 flats, 300 places in schools, 200 places in kindergartens and some 150 places in hospitals. A day of strikes costs us on an average some 32 flats, which amounts to one nine-story house. As it always happens in extreme situations, market prices soar and other negative phenomena that have an adverse effect on the life of our people appear. Each striker will not get 100-150 roubles in wages. And meanwhile some persons try to pass off strikes as actions to the benefit of people."

"Workers in many regions of our country address their class brothers with a request not to interfere with their pace of work," the first secretary of the city committee of the party said.

M.S. Minasbekyan is of the opinion that a small group of people led by the so-called "Karabakh" Committee and using the Karabakh movement as a cover is entering the sphere of political struggle. The calls of the recent days attest to their aims. Methods of work have changed, too. The breach of the public order takes place. There are cases of violence against workers of the public transport and collectives that were against strikes.

Having analyzed in detail the development of deplorable events at the Zvartnots Airport, M.S. Minasbekyan pointed to the unsavoury role that the "Karabakh" Committee played in these events. "It has actually not done anything toward normalizing the situation there. While we have been exerting efforts for two days to convince people to leave the airport, what about the 'Karabakh' Committee, what about its active stand," he asked. "And now the 'Karabakh' Committee tries to deny its involvement in these events."

M.S. Minasbekyan also said that constantly making appeals to the people, the "Karabakh" Committee does not want to regard concrete people with their daily cares. And indifference can lead to heavy consequences.

"I am confident that the Communists of the capital, all its people will not tolerate the continuation of such irresponsibility, will not allow the demagogues to encroach on power," he said.

In conclusion the first secretary of the city committee of the party urged working people of Yerevan to return to their work places and establish the pace of work which is the basis for remedying the situation. He said that the plenary meeting of the city committee of the party held three days ago adopted a decision to work out the the programme for the normalisation of life in Yerevan and suggested that people of Yerevan should take a most active part in this. Besides that, party and government leaders will appear on local television on Tuesdays and Thursdays and it will be possible to put any questions to them by telephone. This will help people to take a correct bearing in the situation and combat all sorts of rumours which are sometimes circulated by dishonest persons who pursue their own self-seeking aims.

Dwelling on meetings, he emphasized that there is a need for them, but they should be held in the framework of legality, in spare time, without violations of public order, without doing damage to citizens and interfering with their rest. "There is a need for constructive meetings, as many problems accumulated, particularly such matters as combatting speculation, bribe taking, protectionism. Social justice should, at last, be restored. This is where the start should be made. And we shall be deciding these matters together, in unity, as we have no other road," the leader of the party organization of the Armenian capital emphasized.

TASS correspondents interviewed on Sunday many workers who have not left their enterprises on the days of strikes. For instance, manager of number 13 trolleybus route Lyusya Barsegyan said that her colleagues had come to their work places every day. She urged the transport workers of the Armenian capital, all the Armenian working people to at last ensure normal life in the republic.

Efforts To End Strikes Noted

PM1807102788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jul 88 Second Edition p 3

[Report by own special correspondents S. Oganyan and A. Sarkisyan under the "Stop Press" rubric: "Conveying the Truth"]

[Text] Yerevan—There are dozens of industrial and transport enterprises in Sovetskiy Rayon, which contains the housing projects of Novyy Nork, Avan, Zeytun, and Kanaker.

"Of the 33 enterprises in the rayon, 20 are fully operational, 10 partially so, and only 3 collectives are completely on strike," V. Turyan, first secretary of Sovetskiy party raykom, said.

The raykom has focused special attention on those three enterprises. Representatives of the scientific intelligentsia have been energetically working there in recent days. G. Avetisyan, corresponding member of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences and director of the Institute of History, has talked for hours with people at the "Massiv" plant, while Doctor of Legal Sciences V. Nazaryan, head of department at the state university, has been doing likewise at an engineering plant.... What have been the results?

"There will be results," V. Turyan was convinced. "Those enterprises too could start working next Monday. People still have to be persuaded that strikes have no place in the struggle to solve the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. This problem became public thanks to restructuring and the democratization of our society. It is necessary to convince people that strikes only hamper this progressive process.

"As a participant in the conference at the republic Communist Party Central Committee," V. Turyan went on, "I am impressed by the concrete nature of the decisions made there. The matter was put strongly—there must not be a single enterprise not working in the republic. That is the only way the situation can be normalized. And in this regard I again return to the increasing role of the intelligentsia. It must not stand aloof from the efforts being made. And one more thing: Truthful information about everything is essential, otherwise people will remain at the mercy of rumor."

Incidentally, on the subject of strikes, virtually from the beginning of the events associated with the Nagorno-Karabakh problem the Sovetskiy party raykom has kept a "rumor notebook." We will not recount the rumors. The main point lies elsewhere—these rumors must be killed. And this must be done above all by the party committees through their authority and the truth that they must convey to people.

More on Call for End to Strike

PM1807101088 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Special correspondents S. Bablumyan, P. Gutiontov report: "Yerevan, 17 July"]

[Text] Once again hundreds of thousands of Yerevan people gathered for a citywide rally at Matenadaran yesterday evening. Once again it was announced at the very beginning: Only members of the "Karabakh" Committee will be allowed to speak. A strange concept of democracy, you will agree. Some of the speeches once again put forward proposals that can hardly be called well considered or really aimed at normalizing the situation. But—an important fact—whereas earlier it was the calls to continue the strike that were loudest here, this time the main tone of the rally was different: On Monday the city should go to work.

The local press continues more and more actively to publish letters from working people and authoritative figures in the republic, who express their attitude to the current events frankly in the pages of the newspapers: Ardent, impassioned letters dictated by distress for the motherland's fate.

Today general designer Academician G. Novozhilov, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy from Martuninskiy Electoral Okrug in the Armenian SSR, addressed his voters through the republican newspaper KOMMUNIST. The letter stresses that labor and order are the most important components of restructuring. The method of strikes and the violation of public order are not the means by which the wise, industrious, and good Armenian people can achieve the resolution of questions connected with Nagorno-Karabakh.

The reactions of the people of Yerevan to IZVESTIYA's articles are, to be frank, varied. We listen attentively to all our opponents and their proposals and advice. R. Mina, laboratory chief at the Yerevan Physics Institute, telephoned: "You wrote recently that because of a strike at the Lusakert oxygen station, a strained situation has arisen in the city's hospitals. All that is true. But why do you keep quiet about the fact that the staffers of our institute set about refilling the oxygen cylinders?" This fact should, of course, have been reported. We also report that during the days when urban public transport was at a standstill, owners of private cars transported the people of Yerevan free. Engineer E. Petrosyan drew our attention to this.

Today is Sunday—an opportunity for reflection and decisions offered to the city by the calendar itself. One hopes that these decisions will be dictated by common sense and a sense of responsibility.

Work Returns to 'Normal'

LD1707170788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Here is a report from Yerevan. It is difficult to give a straightforward appraisal of the situation in the city. Outwardly, it is an ordinary Sunday. Many families are taking their leisure in the traditional recreation zones, on the children's railroad, at the zoo, by the famous Yerevan fountains. Perhaps the only deserted place is beside the swan lake, as the people of Yerevan affectionately and long ago christened the small pool, not far from the Opera Theater, which accurately reproduces the shape of Lake Sevan. As before, this and the adjacent Theater Square are cordoned off by the militia.

The greatest number of people are on the road around Yerevan, where the people of Yerevan, gathering in small groups, are exchanging views on the recent events. At the center of attention are the materials of the meeting at the Central Committee of the republic's Communist Party which were published in yesterday's editions of the republic papers.

At the meeting, a precise political appraisal was given of the strikes, and certain party, economic, and local soviet leaders were subjected to sharp criticism for their irresponsibility and carelessness in the extreme situation that has emerged, as were bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the procuracy of the republic, who were frequently conciliatory with regard to violations of law and order. The results of yesterday's many-thousand-strong rally, which adopted a decision to halt the strikes, are also being discussed.

Our correspondent Kuryum Khurmaryan was informed at the Yerevan Gorkom that a normal work rhythm was observed at all enterprises in the city where work was scheduled for today.

'Moral Damage' in NKAO

LD1707161788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] [Guskov] Stepanakert on the line. This is your special correspondent Pavel Guskov.

[Announcer] What news do you have, Pavel Borisovich? What is the situation now in the autonomous oblast?

[Guskov] Well, the situation in the autonomous oblast still remains complex. The dairy works, the fish works, and several shops have been operating in Stepanakert these last few days and are working now, but all the rest are closed. The damage done to the economy of both the autonomous oblast and the country continues to grow and it is growing very fast. Every day brings not only material damage, but moral damage, too. I have had the chance to talk to people. They feel very harassed, very excited, very tense. It seems to me that a lot here depends on the clarity of the position adopted first and foremost by the party organization leaders, the Communists.

For example, I recently had the chance to talk to one of the leaders, Comrade (Dadamyan), the manager of the motor transport enterprise of Stepanakert. He says it is hard for us because the forces protecting law and order are taking a [word indistinct] part of the transport, but we are trying to go out. We are trying to persuade the workers, but they are allegedly not going out.

It must be said that the complaint of many managers in Nagorno-Karabakh that they are trying, but the people are not listening is very widespread. What is worrying is that the obkom paper SOVETSKIY KARABAKH publishes weightier and weightier material everyday, inciting the atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion. The material is addressed to the central organs of the mass media, which are allegedly distorting what has taken place in Yerevan.

So this is the varied and very ambiguous situation. How it will develop in the next few days depends on how high a sense of duty Communists will have, how high a sense of responsibility leaders will have for the actions of the fellow citizens.

Stepanakert Inhabitants Speak

LD1707223588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 17 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report from Stepanakert by special correspondents P. Guskov and A. Savonin]

[Text] Not only in Stepanakert, but throughout Nagorno-Karabakh, there is not at present anyone who is indifferent to what is taking place here. The outward calm on the streets and squares conceals a battle of passions and the clash between false rumors and truthful information. [video shows vehicles on road, people standing in street] People are tired, strained by the many months of tension. And more and more people, although not all understand it right away, realize that such tension already contains its own danger. There are also those who take the path of sobering up. We met these people in one of the buildings where an investigations group of the USSR Procuracy is working. [video shows correspondent and four other men seated around a desk]

(?Manuel Arshevirovich) Oganesyan, worker at the Stepanakert electrical engineering works, has come here, together with his respected relatives, frontline veterans (?Amo Petrosovich Bacharyan) and Sergey (?Sarkisovich) Oganesyan; he has come in order to hand in a small caliber pistol and homemade grenades, manufactured by him at his workplace in one of the workshops of this plant:

[M. Oganesyan, identified by screen caption] I have come to hand in these things, which I no longer need. This evil stems from the difficult situation in Nagorno-Karabakh after Sumgait. [video shows disassembled pistol on desk in front of him]

[Correspondent] This is a homemade revolver, a small caliber one, that can be loaded with these shells. Here are two of them. [video shows correspondent showing pistols and shells to camera] Here you can screw in a barrel. But this pistol, this revolver, can also shoot without a barrel. In brief, it is a weapon. And I think (?Manuel Arshevirovich) has done the right thing in deciding, on advice from his elder relations, to get rid of this unpleasant burden on his heart and on his reputation.

[S.A. Malyutin, investigator of the USSR Procuracy, identified by screen caption] In accordance with the existing legislation, Article 220 of the criminal code of the Azerbaijan SSR, persons who have voluntarily surrendered ammunition or weapons illegally kept or manufactured by themselves, in particular pistols and shells like this, are free of criminal liability. To speak specifically, about what will happen to (?Manuel) here, he will not be made criminally liable, he will be free of it, because he voluntarily surrendered the weapons he had. [video pans across assorted knives, several boxes of small caliber shells, three new and one rusty grenade on desk] There remains a risk that the weapons and ammunition that are in the possession of the public may be used, because this weaponry might get used in any conflict, and perfectly innocent people could suffer. And so we are very encouraging, we are freeing the liability of people who are now coming and voluntarily handing in the weapons in their possession.

[Correspondent] Well, these things were manufactured at the plant where (?Manuel) works.

[S.S. Oganesyan, identified by screen caption] I think that the weapons that have been manufactured must be handed in. Why? Because all the same these weapons may be used, if not now, then sometime, somewhere, by someone, and could could hurt our people. So thank you to our comrades, the investigators and others, for making a start on this noble work. They must all be confiscated, that's what I say.

Azerbaijan Deputy Chairman Interviewed on Dispute
TA1707145088 Ankara ANATOLIA in English
1355 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Baku (A.A.)—"Karabakh belongs to Azerbaijan and will remain to be so," a top Azerbaijani official told A.A. in a special interview.

Deputy Chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Naim Fataliyev, who met the ANATOLIA News Agency delegation currently visiting Azerbaijani capital city of Baku, came up with the following declaration: "Karabakh belongs to us and will remain ours. Nobody can take it away from us as long as two thirds of the Azerbaijan people do not consent to give it away in a referendum."

Reminding that at the 19th party congress Secretary General of the Communist Party Mikhail Gorbachev had opposed border changes within the Soviet Union, Fataliyev said that "wanting to take our territories by force means the inciting of a struggle."

General Director of the ANATOLIA News Agency Husamettin Celebi, administration board member Aydin Dundar and Foreign News Director Recep Guvelioglu, in the USSR for the preparations of an ANATOLIA Agency Bureau to be opened in Moscow, after their stay in Moscow left for Azerbaijan.

The A.A. mission, beginning its official contacts in Baku with a visit paid to Deputy Chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Fataliyev, had a long interview with the deputy chairman on the Karabakh region, an issue of ethnic conflicts between Armenia and Azerbaijan since February.

Fataliyev, who during that interview presented detailed information on the constitutional structure of the federal republics, stressed that the USSR borders had been accepted in 1922 and that at the time Armenians living in Karabakh had agreed with the frontiers set.

"The decisions taken today regarding the independent Karabakh region are entirely contrary with the former agreement and with the 78th article of the Soviet Constitution," Fataliyev commented.

Fataliyev said that it was likely that the Karabakh dispute was the result of the provocations not only of the internal extremists but also of foreign sources aiming to prevent a successful perestroyka policy.

Adding that come what may, the policy of restructure was to be continued, Fataliyev reported that all the seekers of self-interest had been caught and were to be subjected to due punishments. He also disclosed that by now, about 7,000 Armenians had emigrated to Armenia from Azerbaijan and 20,000 Azerbaijanis had come to Azerbaijan from Armenia.

Armenian Journalist Accused of 'Maliciousness'
NC1807073988 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
0340 GMT 15 Jul 88

[From "The Republican Press Review"]

[Text] We must attach importance to maintaining [word indistinct], according to letters published on page 2 of BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY. They accuse Sarkisyan, a correspondent of KOMMUNIST, which is the organ of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, of maliciousness when commenting on the views of the Azerbaijan SSR delegation to the all-union party conference expressed during a news conference for local and foreign journalists on 2 July.

A BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY correspondent urged Afrand Dashdamirov, chief of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department and chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet International Relations and Training Affairs Commission, to explain the various aspects of the matter and reply to questions concerning international relations.

Lawyer Demands Action on Armenian Problems
PM1707181588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian 15 Jul 88 p 1

[Reader O. Temushkin's letter "On Events in Yerevan" under the general heading "Opinion"]

[Text] Doctor of Juridical Sciences O. Temushkin, meritorious jurist of the RSFSR writes:

Each evening reports are broadcast on television on the situation in Yerevan and Stepanakert. Thus, the latest broadcast concerned the excesses committed at Yerevan's Zvartnots Airport. These clips evoke a feeling of tremendous alarm. It is awful to think that the extremists grab iron bars and beat soldiers—young boys who have sufficient self-possession and courage not to respond in the same terms. The stance of the law-enforcement organs of Armenia who are doing nothing, thus provoking the hooligans, is hard to explain. All this is exacerbating the extremely tense situation and making the problems even more complex.

SOVETSKAYA KULTURA published an appeal from prominent cultural figures of Armenia and the RSFSR urging calm and a sober examination of the problems that heve arisen. It is obviously not enough today to persuade and exhort. The issue has now ceased to be a problem merely for the two republics and has become a matter of pain and alarm for all the people, for the whole state. So it is high time to resolve it on a statewide scale without in any way encroaching on anyone's national interests.

Armenian Institutions Receive NKAO Students

NC1307130088 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Excerpts] A very important and significant step in the collaboration between the Armenian SSR and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] is the preparation for the oblast of highly qualified cadres. At the request of the Executive Committee of the Soviet of People's Deputies of Nagorno-Karabakh, higher and specialized secondary educational institutions are already providing additional places so that they can accept applicants from the oblast.

Speaking to an ARMENPRES correspondent, Garibdzhanyan, higher and specialized secondary education minister, said: In the last few days there have been reports in the press that the government of the Armenian SSR, responding to a request from the Executive Committee of the NKAO Soviet of People's Deputies, has allocated 21 additional places in the higher educational institutions of the republic for the non-competitive admission of applicants. It should be borne in mind that these places are additional ones, but for some reason no mention was made of this fact. Unfortunately, this report [words indistinct]. Besides that, another 210 non-competitive places have been allocated. Thus the number of additional places is raised to 231. [passage omitted]

Our aim, said Comrade Garibdzhanyan, is to utilize all means of helping Nagorno-Karabakh in the preparation of highly qualified specialists. I would like to add that we also helped 250 students who were forced to come to Armenia at the time of the tragic events in Sumgait and the upheaval in the other towns of Azerbaijan. They were permitted to attend lectures in various higher educational institutions in Armenia and provided with board and lodging. Now there is official permission to accept them. That is why we have applied to the appropriate (?bodies) of the Azerbaijan SSR with a request to free these students from their (?registered) higher educational institutions and give them the opportunity to transfer to corresponding institutes in Armenia.

Meanwhile, 10 places have been allocated at the Yerevan artistic and theatrical institute to train cadres for the Armenian Dramatic Theater being revived in Baku and the Armenian Theater in Stepanakert.

PRAVDA Editorial on Antibureacracy Resolution

PM1307134188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jul 88 First Edition p 1

[Editorial under the rubric "Resolutions of the All-Union Party Conference": "Pensioning Off Bureaucracy"; capitalization as published]

[Text] One of the main instructions issued to delegates of the 19th all-union party conference was to declare merciless war on bureaucracy. And that is no accident, since it was sluggishness, bureaucracy, indifference, and perfunctoriness regarding people that became a major, grinding brake on restructuring and an obstacle to the development of glasnost, to the exasperation of the masses. The numbing bonds of bureaucracy fetter the initiative and vital creativity of the masses, be it in the national economy, where economic methods of production management are being introduced, or in the social sphere, sociopolitical life, and the spiritual and moral development of society.

That is why the resolution "On Combating Bureaucracy," which was passed unanimously at the conference, engenders a sense of satisfaction in most Soviet people. It is seen as the natural outcome of restructuring and as an important result of the effective offensive launched against this social evil since the Central Committee April (1985) Plenum. The party has uttered a decisive "no" to such distortions as diktat and administrative arbitrariness in the economy and the social and spiritual spheres, bureaucratic indifference to people's rights and needs, and a disdainful attitude toward public opinion and working people's social experience.

All these painful growths—the outcome of the lamentable period of stagnation and the fettering of democratic institutions—are incompatible with the aims and tasks of the revolutionary renewal of society. Virtually everyone of us has come up against the barrier of bureaucracy to some extent or other and knows how difficult it is to move it aside. A really implacable struggle must be waged here and persistent efforts made by the party and the people, since even today many initiatives and measures to transform the economy and other aspects of the life of the country are still paralyzed by the resistance mounted by the bureaucratic apparatus. Exploiting the passivity of many party organizations and soviets, the canny bureaucrat artfully latches on to restructuring, hiding behind a barricade of instructions and orders of every kind that assure him a comfortable existence. His tactics were aptly described by P. Petrovskiy from Odessa in his letter to PRAVDA as recalling the popular saying that a snake changes its skin, but not its nature.

The all-union conference not only denounced the pollution of bureaucracy and called for a consistent, uncompromising struggle to be launched against it but also, and this is the chief thing, formulated an all-embracing system of measures to eradicate it.

In the ECONOMY this means the absolute execution of the laws on the enterprise and the cooperative system and energetic activity on the part of labor collective councils. It means the development of economically accountable relations, independence, and responsibility on the part of enterprises, and contractual, lease, and cooperative forms of management. It means increasing production democracy and improving the organizational structures of management.

In the SOCIAL SPHERE this means showing greater concern to satisfy working people's material, consumer, and spiritual needs, consistently implementing the principle of social justice, and precisely executing the laws.

In SOCIOPOLITICAL LIFE the deepening of democracy, the extensive development of socialist self-management, and the strengthening of the power of the soviets are leading to success in combating bureaucratism. It is essential to resist attempts to replace democratic centralism by bureaucratic centralism and to ensure working people's direct involvement in drafting and carrying out state decisions. And, of course, it is essential to ensure the population is better informed and step up the people's monitoring of management organs' activity.

Finally, in the SPIRITUAL AND MORAL sphere the offensive against bureaucracy means a revival of the Leninist traditions and criteria of spiritual life, the creative use and development of Marxist-Leninist ideology, the establishment of new political thinking, and intolerance of manifestations of dogmatism, petit bourgeois morality, social parasitism, and abuse of office. It means creating a situation where opinions and views are freely counterposed and overcoming petty supervision and recrudescences of the command style in the leadership of science and culture.

The resolution stresses that if it is to engage all the forces of society in the struggle against bureaucracy and be successful, the party must set a convincing example of democratizing its own activity and party life and of eliminating the bureaucratic accretions. And that means that all party organizations and all Communists must live and act in that way. People will judge the effectiveness of this struggle, become energetically involved in it, and strive for practical results on the basis of their specific deeds and actions. It is necessary to raise to a qualitatively new level verification of the actual execution of decisions and the political directives of the party, particularly in the political organizations of ministries, departments, and other establishments directly concerned with meeting people's needs and requirements. No single party organization or official should be exempt from monitoring.

The PRAVDA editorial office is receiving many letters that cite a number of examples of bureaucratic distortions, and some people, it must be admitted, no longer believe that these distortions can be overcome. Granted, you will not really achieve anything here by acting impulsively, nor will matters be rectified by mechanical reorganizations. Only consistent, steady implementation of all the measures outlined by the party holds the promise of real victory. And the task today is to subject their implementation to monitoring by all the party and all the people. It is particualrly important to ensure monitoring of the apparatus' work by working people and absolute observance of the principle that the management apparatus serves and is wholly accountable to elected organs, soviet power, and the people.

The mechanism to ensure this accountability and monitoring is provided for: Namely, organizing the reception of citizens by leadership officials directly in the labor collectives, officials' reporting back to people in enterprises and at their place of residence, and the discussion and assessment of the apparatus' work at assemblies and meetings and in public organizations. The leaders of party organizations, up to and including Central Committee secretaries, must meet regularly with Communists and working people.

Real contact between leaders and people rather than platform speeches, and the ability to listen to people's opinion and inquiries, to take them into account in practical work, to learn from useful experience and help develop and disseminate it—all this must become the norm in our life. It must always be remembered that the work of leading cadres, their deeds and actions, are under the gaze of the masses, that the demands placed on every apparatus official are higher than ever before, and that the importance of managerial decisions has increased.

Competence in organizing work is of particular importance today. As the 19th all-union party conference resolution noted, serious changes are required in the actual procedure for formulating and making managerial decisions, it must be simplified and freed of hedging agreements, while at the same time alternative solutions to the most important economic and social problems must be submitted to the expert examination of scientists and public and nationwide discussion or referendum. While developing collective decisionmaking it is also necessary to further enhance workers' responsibility for their assigned task, to involve the management aparatus in the system of new economic ties, and to provide for its material liability for the consequences of decisions made. Managerial functions and powers must increasingly be transferred downward, actually into the labor collectives, so that their councils and all working people may fully exercise their rights.

Alongside blunt criticism of the apparatus conference, delegates' speeches also contained justified appeals to preserve and strengthen the leader's authority. This was reflected in the resolution, which set the task of extensively developing cadre training and retraining, substantially improving their managerial standards, and ensuring that their selection and placement is conducted openly on a competitive, contested basis; while at the same time making greater demands on leaders, resolutely jettisoning those who display a perfunctory work attitude and callousness and indifference to people's needs, and thwarting attempts to simply shift them to other leading posts. Party organizations, soviets, and other representative organs expressing the will of Communists and the whole people have the crucial say here.

Real sovereignty of the people and the extensive involvement of working people in the management of state and public affairs are the crucial factor in eradicating bureaucracy. The creation of an integrated system of public and state monitoring which will rely on the initiative and activeness of the masses and public organizations is also intended to serve this purpose. Every citizen must be sure that he will find redress against bureaucrats in the soviets and organs of people's control, that the trade unions or Komsomol will defend his interests, and that the law-enforcement agencies will reliably protect him against administrative arbitrariness and violations of rights and freedoms. It is envisaged that legal conditions be created to step up the struggle against bureaucracy and that the practical application of the USSR law on judicial appeal against actions by officials infringing citizens' rights be improved. The mass media must supply more effective assistance to energetic, efficacious work designed to eradicate bureaucracy and to reveal its sources and manifestations and instructive examples of the struggle against it.

Excluding bureaucracy from our life is how one might briefly express the main thrust of the measures to combat this social ill adopted by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. Its success lies in our hands, it depends on the activeness, principledness, and persistence of each and every one of us.

Editorial Views Party Resolution on Legal Reform

PM1407141788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial under the rubric "All-Union Party Conference Resolutions": "The Law Is the Same for Everyone"]

[Text] We have been mechanically repeating this phrase for many years without noticing that frequently it did not correspond to reality. During the years of the personality cult and the phenomena of stagnation, distortions and deformations appeared in the legal system. They were a consequence of authoritarian methods of management which are alien to socialism and of a departure from the Leninist principles of state life. In the upper echelons of the economic, party, and soviet apparatus there formed what could almost be described as a caste of untouchables which was beyond the reach of all control, including legal control. This gradually led to the emergence of organized crime, corruption, bribe taking, and other negative phenomena. At the same time instances of criminal proceedings being instituted against innocent people multiplied.

The CPSU Central Committee 1985 April Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress clearly exposed the conservatism and the shortcomings of the existing legal system which was frequently guided by command and administrative methods of leadership with their numerous prohibitions and petty regimentation rather than democratic or economic methods. Legislation too was lagging behind life. For this reason a number of existing legal acts acted as a brake rather than a lever of restructuring. The need for a legal reform which would embrace a wide range of legal standards relating primarily to socialist ownership, planning, economic, labor, taxation, pension, and other relations became apparent. It was also necessary to continue the work to strengthen the legitimate rights, interests, and freedoms of individual citizens.

During the years of restructuring quite a lot has already been done in this area. Law enforcement organs are no longer a closed zone for glasnost, their activities are increasingly subordinated to the spirit of democratization. However, as the 19th all-union party conference resolution "On Legal Reform" noted, the measures that have been adopted can only be rated as the beginning of a major effort connected with the formation of a law-based socialist state.

This task has been set by the party for the first time. Resolving it means creating constitutional guarantees for the irreversibility of restructuring, firmly establishing in our society the supremacy and triumph of the rule of law as an expression of the will of the people, strengthening the protection of human rights and freedoms, and placing the actions of state and party organs, public organizations, labor collectives, and all officials and citizens on a strictly legal footing.

The law-based socialist state is a very broad and meaningful concept. It is not confined to a certain level of legality. Ultimately only a state which is characterized by reciprocal responsibility on the part of the state and its citizens, their associations and organizations, and all those who enter with the state into mutual relations regulated by law can be described as a law-based state.

People who followed the proceedings of the conference closely will have noticed that these thoughts were expressed in the speeches of many delegates. And that is quite natural. After all, all our intiatives and all the decisions adopted by the conference will come to fruition only if they are implemented on a strictly legal basis. Observance of the rule of law is not a shortlived campaign. It is a way of life. And it is this way of life which is to be firmly established by the legal reform whose implementation was outlined by the party conference. The reform is called upon to ensure the rule of law in all the spheres of society's life and to strengthen the mechanism of the maintenance of socialist law and order on the basis of the development of people's power.

So what is to be done to create a genuinely law-based state?

Above all, it is necessary to improve the legislative activity of the supreme organs of power. Unfortunately, frankly speaking, this work was carried out for many years behind doors which were closed to most people. Draft laws were compiled by the apparatus and frequently expressed the will of departments and special-interest groups rather than the people. Therefore it is particularly important to democratize the legislative process, as the party conference noted. This process is to be based on glasnost, competent scientific evaluation, and the discussion of draft laws with the involvement of the broad public, that is, all the people. Only in this way can a consolidation of the constitutional regime and an enhancement of the role and effectiveness of Soviet laws regulating key areas of social relations be achieved. Only with the participation of every citizen can the consistent implementation be ensured of the principle which rang out at the conference: Everything that is not banned by law, is allowed.

The operative word in this formula is "law." It is absolutely necessary that in this context "law" is understood in the strictly constitutional sense of this word, that is exclusively as a legal document adopted by a supreme organ of state power. If, as often happens in day-to-day life, law is taken to mean any official rule or regulation, then the cited formula is likely to lose its real meaning as a result of the plethora of bans which characterizes departmental and local rule and regulation promulgation. This formula is addressed to citizens and their associations. As for organs of management and officials, they have their sphere of competence which they are not allowed to exceed.

Unfortunately, this rule is still being frequently broken today. Numerous departmental instructions frequently run counter to the law and the Constitution, hamper the development of the national economy and the initiative of the working people, and infringe upon their rights and interests. Therefore a cardinal review, codification, and systematization of legislation must become an inalienable part of the legal reform. In light of the new conditions of economic management, the humanization and democratization of social life, and work to prevent violations of the law, it is necessary to introduce substantial changes in all the spheres of legislation, and in particular to radically review the criminal, administrative, procedural, and corrective-labor legislation. In order to ensure strict compliance of laws and government resolutions with the stipulations of the USSR Constitution, the conference has deemed it advisable to set up a committee for constitutional supervision and also to step up all work in monitoring departmental edicts to ensure that the stipulations of the law are strictly observed in them. The number of these edicts is also to be sharply reduced.

Of great importance in the creation of the law-based state is the enhancement of the role of courts within the system of socialist democracy. It is necessary to further develop glasnost and the adversary system in Soviet court procedure and to strictly observe the principle of the presumption of innocence. It is impermissible for innocent people to be punished, but likewise, a conniving attitude toward people who have infringed the law cannot be tolerated.

The conference resolution "On Legal Reform" emphasizes the need to strengthen the independence of law enforcement organ officials. In the case of judges, for instance, a guarantee of this will be provided through the election of rayon, city, okrug, oblast, and kray court judges by superior soviets of people's deputies and also the establishment of an extended term of office of these judges.

However, not only citizens' legitimate rights and interests need to be protected. In the conditions of the economic reform, economic accountability, self-management, and self-financing many legal problems are arising also for industrial and agricultural enterprises and cooperatives. This was noted by many delegates at the conference. In response to the concern which they expressed the resolution speaks of the need to extend the powers of the State Board of Arbitration as regards strengthening contractual discipline, protecting the rights of enterprises and cooperatives, and boosting the legal services in soviets of people's deputies, ministries and departments, and economic organizations.

The work of prosecutor's office organs has attracted much criticism in recent years. A considerable bias toward investigative work to the detriment of supervisory functions has taken shape here. The conference therefore noted the need to restore the Leninist principles of supervision by the prosecutor's office. It is called upon to strictly monitor the implementation and uniform interpretation and application of laws and to persistently combat violations of socialist legality, irrespective of their origin.

The legal reform makes provision for improving the work of the militia. Rudeness and incompetence on the part of militia members are less frequent than they were, but they do occur. Enhancing the standards of work and professional competence of internal affairs organs' staff is the task of the day. The resolution also makes provision for measures to make better use of the militia's potential in combating crime. Specifically, it is envisaged to concentrate the investigation of the bulk of criminal cases in the Ministry of Internal Affairs investigation apparatus. It order to protect it against being influenced by the preliminary investigation organs it is deemed advisable to establish investigation as a separate structure not subordinate to republic or local internal affairs organs.

The party conference resolution also pays attention to enhancing the role of defense attorneys as a self-managing association for the provision of legal aid to citizens and organizations. It is envisaged to increase the participation of defense attorneys in preliminary investigation and court procedure. This measure will help to increase the effectiveness of the defense of the citizens rights, interests, and freedoms.

Naturally, implementing a legal reform is a difficult task which cannot be accomplished overnight. The question of the professional training of those who will carry out the reform and work in the law enforcement organs is of paramount importance here. Unfortunately, there are quite a few gaps in the training for the legal profession. What is needed is a proper system of selection, education, training, and further training of people whose job it is to safeguard the law. With the same aim, the conference documents state, it is necessary to reorganize the training of scientific and teaching cadres, eliminate their detachment from practice, and enhance their competence. The establishment of the law-based socialist state and the reforms connected with this call for a restructuring of the legal thinking and legal education of the entire population. It is necessary to organize basic legal education as a single statewide and partywide program which would embrace all the sections of the working people and all cadres at the center and at local level.

The all-union party coference has outlined the program for a legal reform. It is now a question of elaborating and carrying into effect, with the participation of public and scientific organizations, a specific plan of action for its implementation within the very near future. We must make sure that we live in a genuinely law-based socialist state.

Importance of Enhancing Soviets' Role Viewed

PM1307141188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Editorial: "The 19th Party Conference on the New Role of Soviets"]

[Text] It is 10 days since the conclusion of the party conference. But the country is still feeling the effect of its ideas, the tense sharpness of its debates, and its open and democratic atmosphere of glasnost, to which our society still finds it difficult to accustom itself after so many years of silence [bezglasiye]. Overflowing beyond the confines of the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, the conference now seems to be continuing in every party organization, in every labor collective, in every family. Time imparts growing depth and specificity to these discussions and arguments, focusing people's attention on the main and key problems of the development of restructuring which were singled out and emphasized in the conference resolutions.

Among all these problems, the guaranteeing of the full power of soviets as the basis of socialist statehood and self-management in our country was described in the resolutions as the decisive avenue in the reform of the political system. In practical terms this means that not a single state, economic, or social question should or can be resolved bypassing the soviets, that the party's entire policy—economic, social, or nationalities policy— must be implemented primarily through the soviets of people's deputies as organs of people's power.

Why was this question raised so acutely and in such principled fashion at the party conference?

An analysis of the course of restructuring and the current state of the economy inevitably leads to the conclusion that the braking mechanism cannot be overcome and dismantled without decisive and radical changes in the management of all spheres of life and society's activity and that, unless this is done, success is altogether impossible. "The key problems of restructuring—the economic reform, the development of the social and cultural sphere, and the cultivation in people of a keen proprietorial attitude toward everything that is happening in the country," it was said in the report to the conference, "are now really coming up against the ossified system of power and its command-pressure structure."

This burdensome legacy built up over the decades. The disregard for Lenin's principles of people's power and self-management, of Lenin's perception of the soviets' role, resulted in grave deformation of the political system created by October and predetermined the conditions for the emergence of the personality cult and the concentration of economic management functions in the hands of the party-political leadership and its apparatus, whose power and importance became excessively hypertrophied. This inevitably led to arbitrariness and illegality, had a baneful effect on our society's development, and doomed to failure the attempts at economic reforms and social transformations.

The apparatus practice of work which developed in party committees and ispolkoms turned upside down the mutual relations within party organizations and within organs of Soviet power. Nowadays any ispolkom official, without himself being a deputy, feels that he is entitled to issue direct instructions to those elected by the people and even to demand of deputies that they account for their actions. It was no accident that the party conference noted that people's awareness is still being influenced by the simplified and truncated model of socialist people's power which is identified not with political activity by working people but with executive organs.

Another bad tradition which has developed is that every now and again soviets, in their daily activity, find themselves powerless before departmental diktat or the mighty apparatus of ministries which do not even bother to notify local authorities of any actions they may have taken in their territory. Recently this has repeatedly resulted in ecological conflicts and spontaneous rallies and demonstrations in defense of historical and cultural monuments and so on. Even local party organs are often incapable of helping the soviets in this regard.

It is obvious that it will be impossible to achieve true democratization of our society's political system without overcoming these and many other shortcomings in the activity of soviets, without arming Soviet power with the rights corresponding to its responsibilities, without expanding its material potential, in other words without comprehensive and radical reform of the soviets.

The basic principles of such a comprehensive reform of the political system covering all its components, coordinated with the restructuring in the economy and in society as a whole, were discussed at the 19th party conference and reflected in its resolutions. Their direct aim is to strengthen the legislative, management, and monitoring functions of soviets, to give soviet power the right to examine and resolve all the most important questions of state, economic, social, and cultural life, and to restore the leading position of elected organs vis-a-vis executive organs and their apparatus.

Communists, soviet officials, and the whole people are studying with tremendous attention and interest the comprehensive program proposed by the conference for radical changes in the structure of soviets at all levels, the renewal and democratization of the electoral system, the demarcation of the functions of party and soviet organs, new principles in drawing up local budgets, and many other measures setting out the main avenues of Soviet power's activity in the conditions of restructuring.

This is an ambitious program for changes. Strict time limits have been set for its implementation. A report and election campaign is due to be held in party organizations already this year, based on the 19th party conference decisions on the reform of the political system and democratization of party life. The party apparatus will be reorganized by the year's end with due consideration for the division of functions between the party and the soviets. It was recommended that draft legislative acts on the restructuring of soviet organs and the necessary amendments and additions to the Constitution be examined at this fall's USSR Supreme Soviet session, and elections of USSR people's deputies be held in April next year.

At the same time it is obvious that the planned changes in the practical work and actual position of soviets cannot be accomplished automatically. They will demand tremendous efforts by those chosen by the people, by local party organs, by each Communist, and by all working people. The most important factor in this regard will probably prove to be our skill and ability to overcome a sort of psychological barrier of disbelief that everything depends on our actions, on our civic and political stance, on our labor. After all, during the personality cult period and the years of stagnation the entire bureaucratic apparatus persistently implanted in people's minds faith in the omnipotence of paperwork and taught society to think that once resolutions, decisions, and instructions have been adopted, this deletes even the most acute question from the agenda and "the problem is dealt with." Issue an appropriate document—and quality, quantity, and universal abundance will appear as if by magic, and even communism will be built in the current generation's lifetime. Nobody was allowed to express even a hint of a doubt about it, and this ultimately led directly to the alienation of working people from the administration of the state.

It was therefore logical that the 19th party conference clearly and firmly drew the conclusion: No problems can be properly resolved without the people's intellectual and moral potential, everything must be thoroughly discussed within the party and society alike, and strenuous organizational work lies ahead to implement the reforms.

Soviets have the main role to play in this regard. This work must maintain and continue the creative atmosphere, democratic standards of discussions and debates, and the businesslike and unflagging pace of the party forum.

In the first few days after the conclusion of the party conference IZVESTIYA's correspondents in different regions of the country asked conference delegates and party and soviet officials several questions about how they picture in practice the new role of soviets, about how to demarcate the functions of soviet and party organs in specific conditions, about what must be done for soviets' economic self-assertion; what procedure must be adopted for the nomination (self-nomination) of candidate deputies. The editorial office plans to publish the most interesting answers and proposals in the newspaper, but the main point—and this must be emphasized here—is that a considerable proportion of soviet and party officials are living in expectation of additional "instructions," explanations, and directives. This is an alarming sign, testifying to the habit of prolonged shilly-shallying, buck-passing, and organizing to the point where the proper time for organizing has long passed. As a matter of fact, the entire soviet system must begin work immediately, right away, taking the conference resolutions as guidelines and without waiting for circulars and instructions. This means that it is necessary to take today, right away, the first and important step in the implementation of the conference's program stipulation—to switch to soviets the center of gravity of economic, administrative, and management questions and to give the broadest possible scope to the processes of society's self-regulation and self-management and the initiative of citizens, organs of power, party and public organizations, and labor collectives.

Flooding in Azerbaijan Results in Casualties

LD1707210688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1950 GMT 17 Jul 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Before we tell you about the weather to come it Moscow, we report on the raging elements in three mountain rayons of Azerbaijan—Shekinskiy, Kakhskiy, and Kedabekskiy.The abundent rainfall has exceeded all usual norms. In several hours, around 70 mm fell, which is considerably in excess of the monthly norm. The mountain rivers, having shown their mettle yet again, have thrown powerful torrents of water, mud, and silt with unprecedented force onto homes, economic buildings, streets, and parks. A considerable number of cattle and small livestock have perished and agricultural land over large areas has been damaged. The residents of all three rayons are showing examples of genuine bravery and courage in combating the natural disaster. Helicopter crews from the Azerbaijani Civil Aviation Administration have been providing timely aid, and have saved hundreds of people in extremely difficult flying conditions.

Dozens of stricken families have been evacuated to safe places. At the same time and in spite of all this, there unfortunately have been fatalities. Emergency headquarters have been formed and are operating successfully in all three rayons to eliminate the consequences of the natural disaster. [video shows damaged houses, torrential rivers, streams of silt, damaged crops, people struggling through damaged areas with household goods and watching a tractor involved in aid; people seen entering a helicopter with "Aeroflot" on its side, cars driving through water]